Ontario

SPEAKERS of the LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY of Ontario

1867-1984

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SPEAKERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
1867–1984

Legislature	Speaker	Term	Party	Premier
1st	John Stevenson	1867–1871	(I)	Macdonald
2nd	Richard William Scott	1871	(L)	Macdonald
2nd	James George Currie	1871–1873	(L)	Blake, Mowat
2nd, 3rd	Rupert Mearse Wells	1874–1879	(L)	Mowat
4th, 5th	Charles Clarke	1880–1886	(L)	Mowat
6th	Jacob Baxter	1887–1890	(L)	Mowat
7th	Thomas Ballantyne	1891–1894	(L)	Mowat
8th	William Douglas Balfour	1895–1896	(L)	Mowat
8th, 9th	Francis Eugene Alfred Evanturel	1897–1902	(L)	Hardy, Ross
10th	William Andrew Charlton	1903–1904	(L)	Ross
11th	Joseph Wesley St. John	1905–1907	(C)	Whitney
11th, 12th	Thomas Crawford	1907–1911	(C)	Whitney
13th	William Henry Hoyle	1912–1914	(C)	Whitney
14th	David Jamieson	1915–1919	(C)	Hearst
15th	Nelson Parliament	1920–1923	(L)	Drury
16th	Joseph Elijah Thompson	1924–1926	(C)	Ferguson
17th	William David Black	1927–1929	(C)	Ferguson
18th	Thomas Ashmore Kidd	1930–1934	(C)	Ferguson, Henry
19th, 20th	Norman Otto Hipel	1935–1938	(L)	Hepburn

20th	James Howard Clark	1939–1943	(L)	Hepburn, Conant, Nixon
21st, 22nd	William James Stewart	1944–1947	(PC)	Drew
22nd	James de Congalton Hepburn	1947–1948	(PC)	Drew
23rd, 24th	Myroyn ''Cooke'' Davies	1949–1955	(PC)	Kennedy, Frost
25th	Alfred Wallace Downer	1955–1959	(PC)	Frost
26th	William Murdoch	1960–1963	(PC)	Frost, Robarts
27th	Donald Hugo Morrow	1963–1967	(PC)	Robarts
28th	Frederick McIntosh Cass	1968–1971	(PC)	Robarts, Davis
29th	Allan Edward Reuter	1971–1974	(PC)	Davis
29th, 30th, and 31st	Russell Daniel Rowe	1974–1977	(PC)	Davis
31st	John Edward ''Jack'' Stokes	1977–1981	(NDP)	Davis
32nd	John Melville Turner	1981–	(PC)	Davis Miller

Note: (I) = Independent / (L) = Liberal / (C) = Conservative /
(PC) = Progressive Conservative / (NDP) = New Democratic Party

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FOREWORD

The history of the speakership, from its ancient origins in the English Parliament, to its modern evolution in other countries of the Commonwealth, has been a subject of enduring interest. Only recently, however, have researchers begun to turn their attention to how the office has developed in the provincial legislatures of Canada. Since Confederation, there have been thirty-one Speakers of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. Although their role has been fundamental to the working of the democratic process, little is known about the men who have presided over the legislative life of the province.

Speakers of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1867-1984, the first monograph to be produced by the Legislative Research Service of the Legislative Library, Research and Information Services, was conceived to fill this gap in Ontario's legislative history. This work represents the culmination of months of meticulous research on the part of its author, Kathleen Finlay, a research officer with a political science background. Research assistance was provided by two reference librarians, Debra Forman and, in her absence, Mary Fisher.

R.B. Land,
Director
March 1, 1985

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION

It has been described as the "linchpin of the whole chariot",[1] an office "of singular interest, unique in character, admirable in conception, and entirely consistent with genuinely democratic practices."[2] In the most fundamental sense, the speakership stands as the guarantee of the right to speak out, to debate, to question. If, as Philip Laundy argues, it is an office "typically British" in its origins and development, it is also one that has proved to be remarkably adaptable to the different historical, cultural and political contexts to which it has been transplanted.[3]

In Ontario, when a new Legislature meets for the first time, it must elect a Speaker before it can transact any other business. Without a presiding officer the House has no constitutional existence. The Speaker is chosen by the members of the Legislature from among themselves, although by convention, he or she is usually selected from the government benches; nominated by the Premier with the nomination seconded by the Leader of the Opposition. Once in the Chair, the Speaker is the representative of the House in its powers, proceedings and dignity. His or her principal duties are to apply and interpret the practice of the House and to maintain order in debate. The Speaker must refrain from participating in the debates of the House and exercises only a casting vote in the event that the voices on a division are equal. In addition to the procedural duties attached to the office, the Speaker, as Chief Administrative Officer, is responsible for the administration of the Legislature.

Plucked from the backbenches, entangled in endless points of order, left alone to decipher *Beauchesne* and to unravel the mysteries of parliamentary procedure, the Speaker faces a difficult transition from active partisan to impartial judge among all members. This book focuses on the lives of the men who have crossed that threshold to preside as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario since Confederation. Although many of them have played a significant part in shaping both the law of the Legislature and the law of the province, their important legacy has been all but forgotten; buried in the dusty pages of *Hansard* or tucked away in the precedents of the Legislative Assembly, where only the most diligent students of parliamentary procedure dare to tread.

As a collection of biographies, this work pays particular attention to the political careers of these men. While it is not intended as a history of the speakership in Ontario, selective issues that have arisen in connection with the Speaker's functions are discussed where appropriate.

The information found in these pages has been culled from primary sources, including personal papers of the Speakers and the Premiers, reminiscences of notable political figures, and the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*. I have also made extensive use of both the literature on Ontario history and Newspaper *Hansard* in an attempt to provide a sense of how each individual fit into the political context.
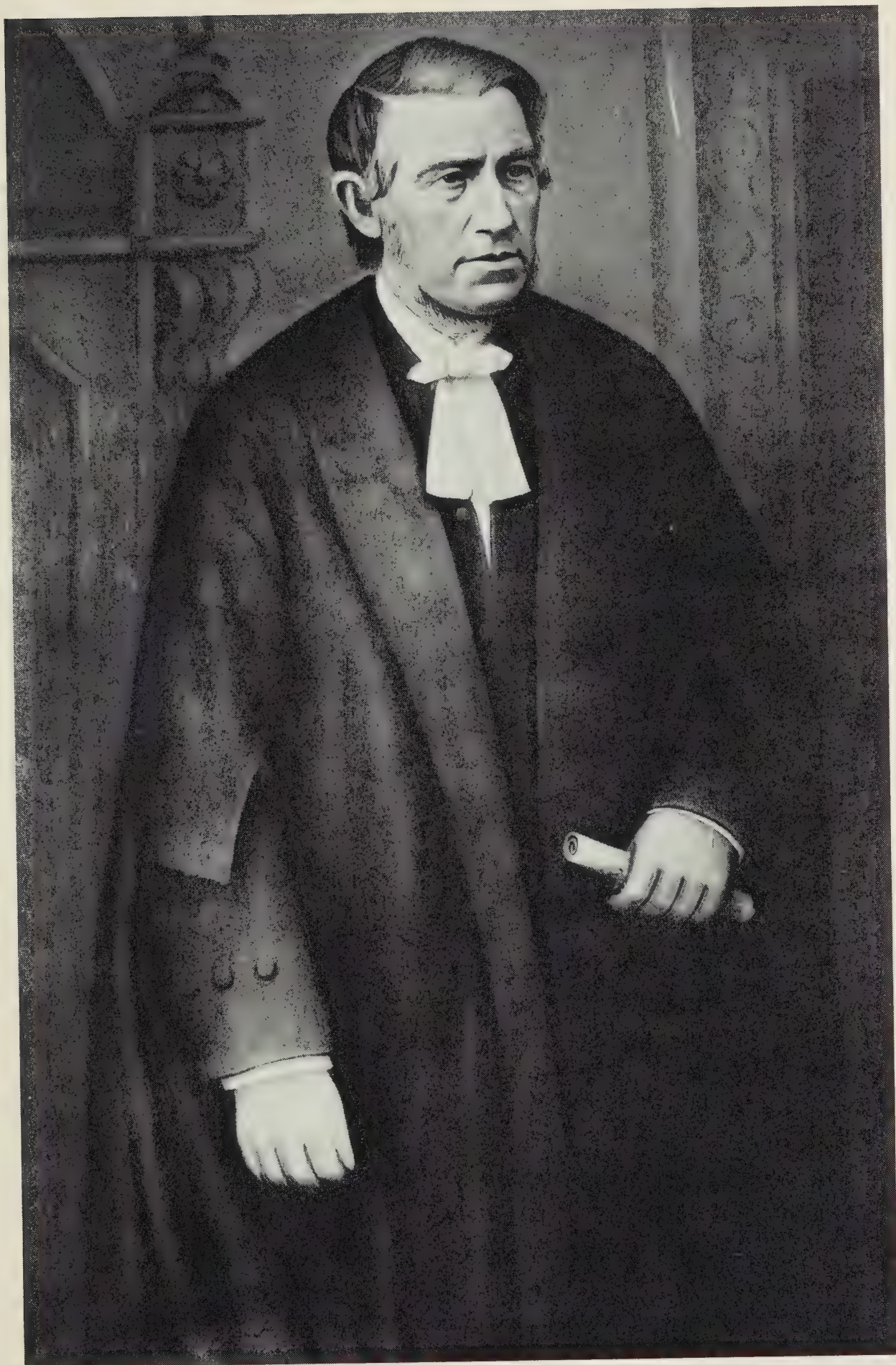
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1867-1871

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1871

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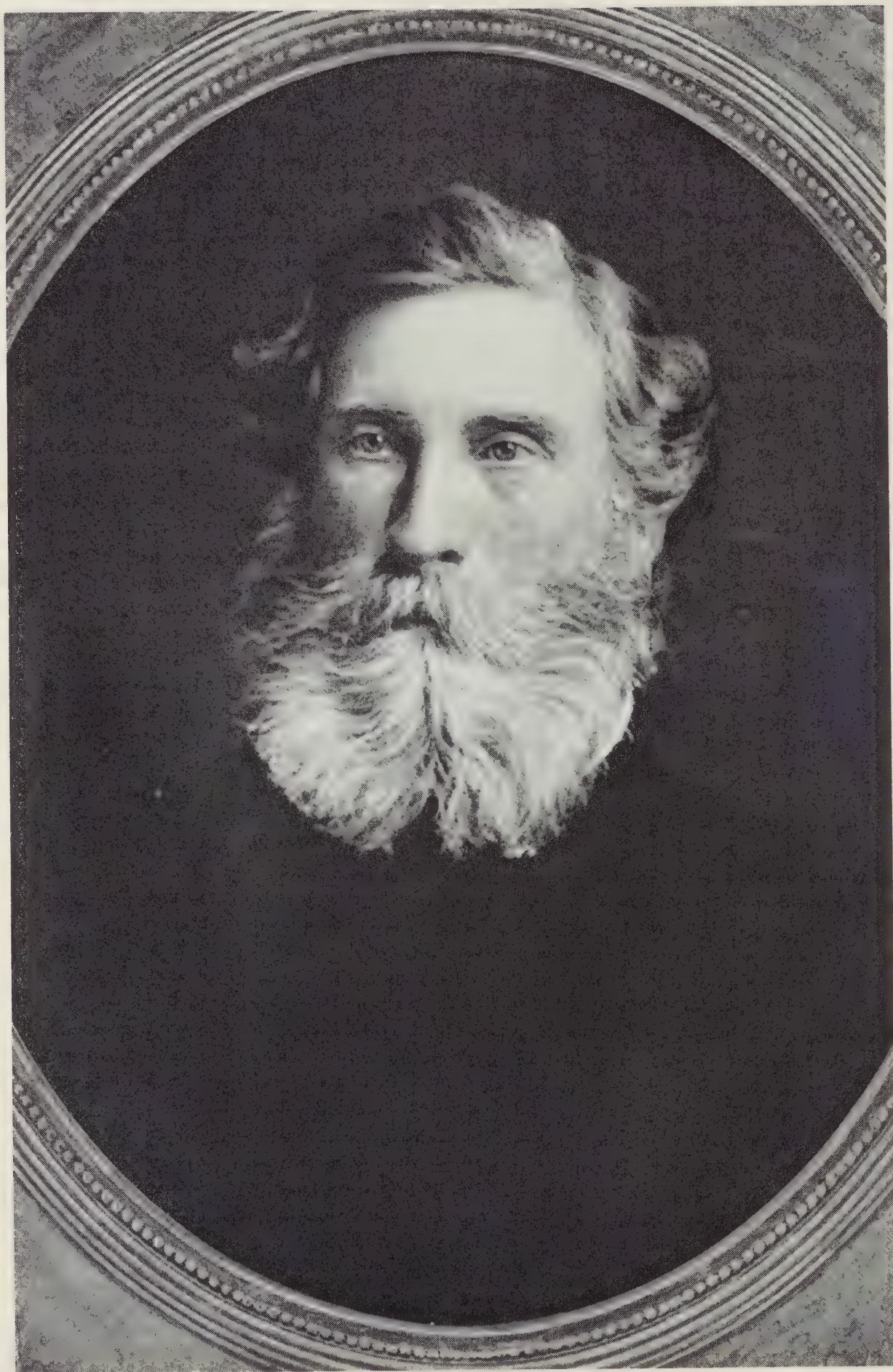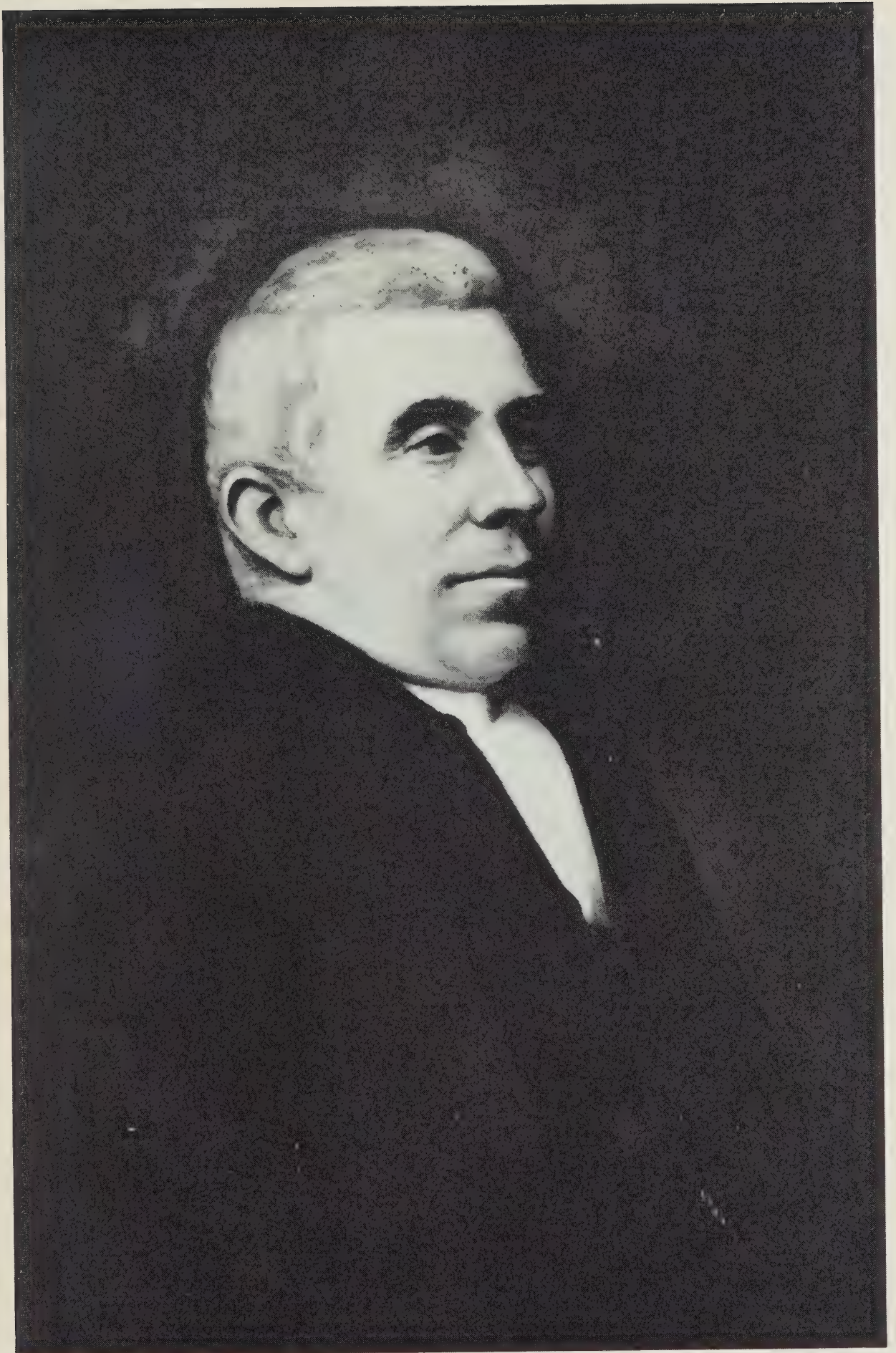
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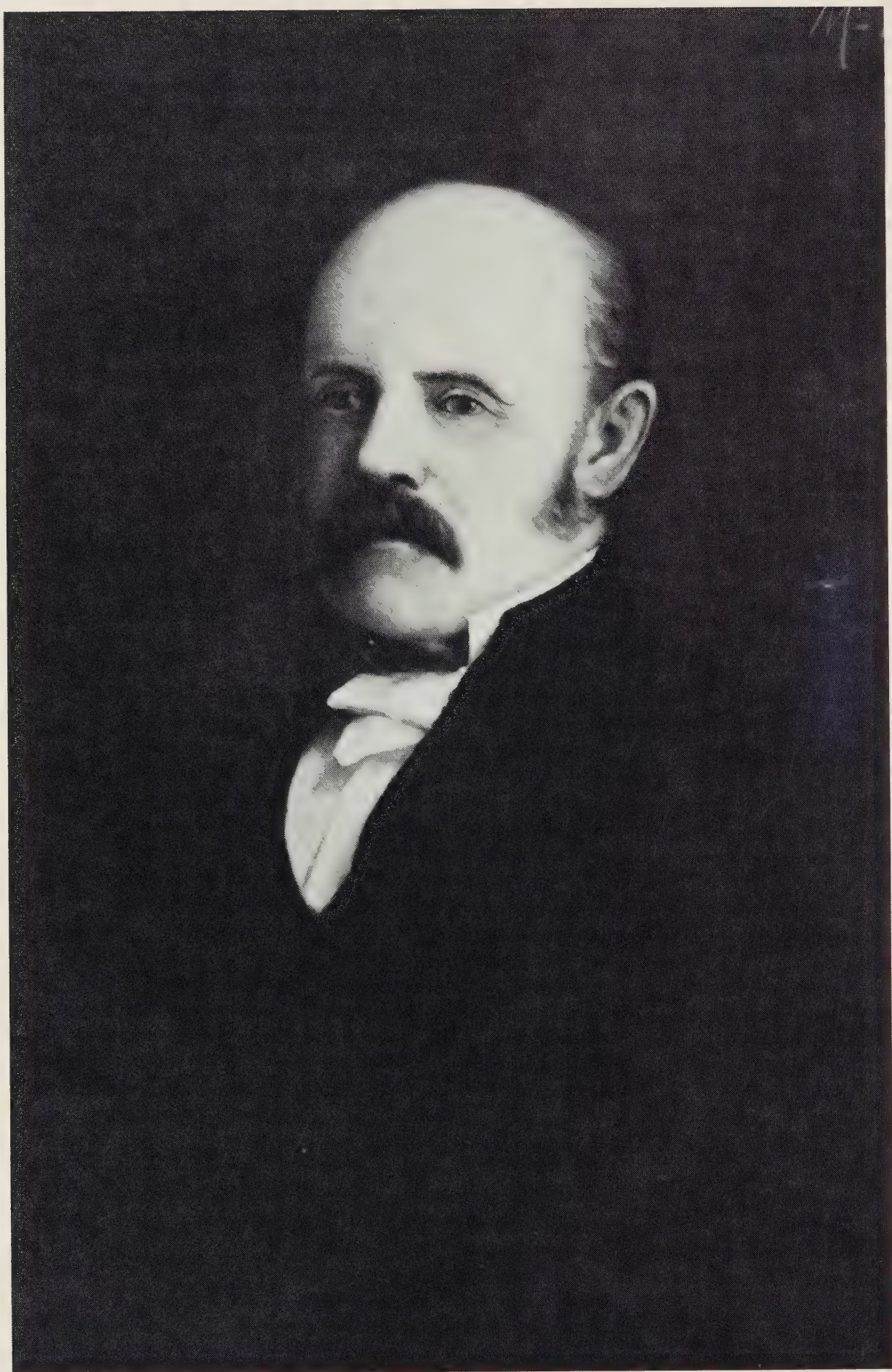
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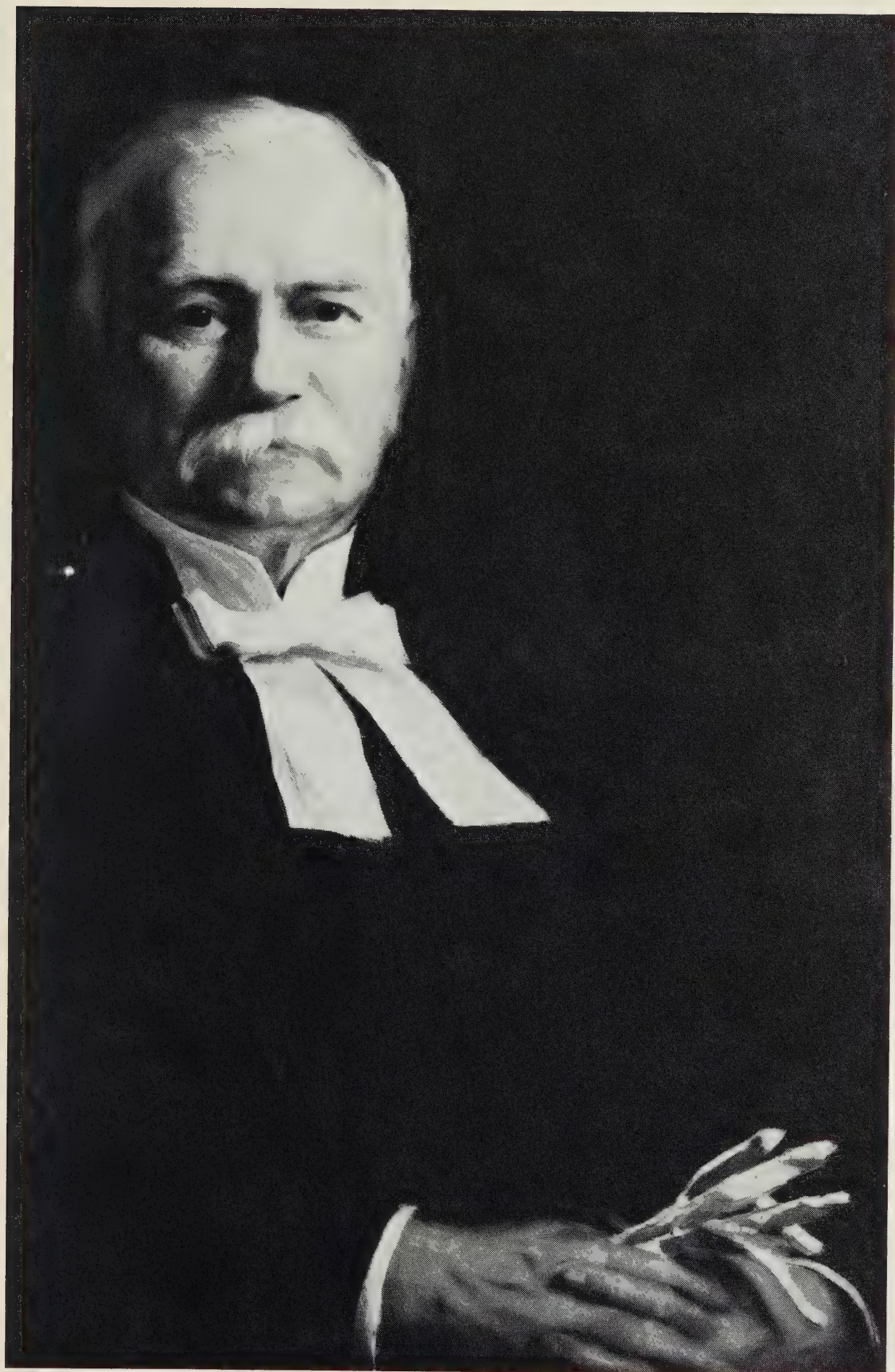
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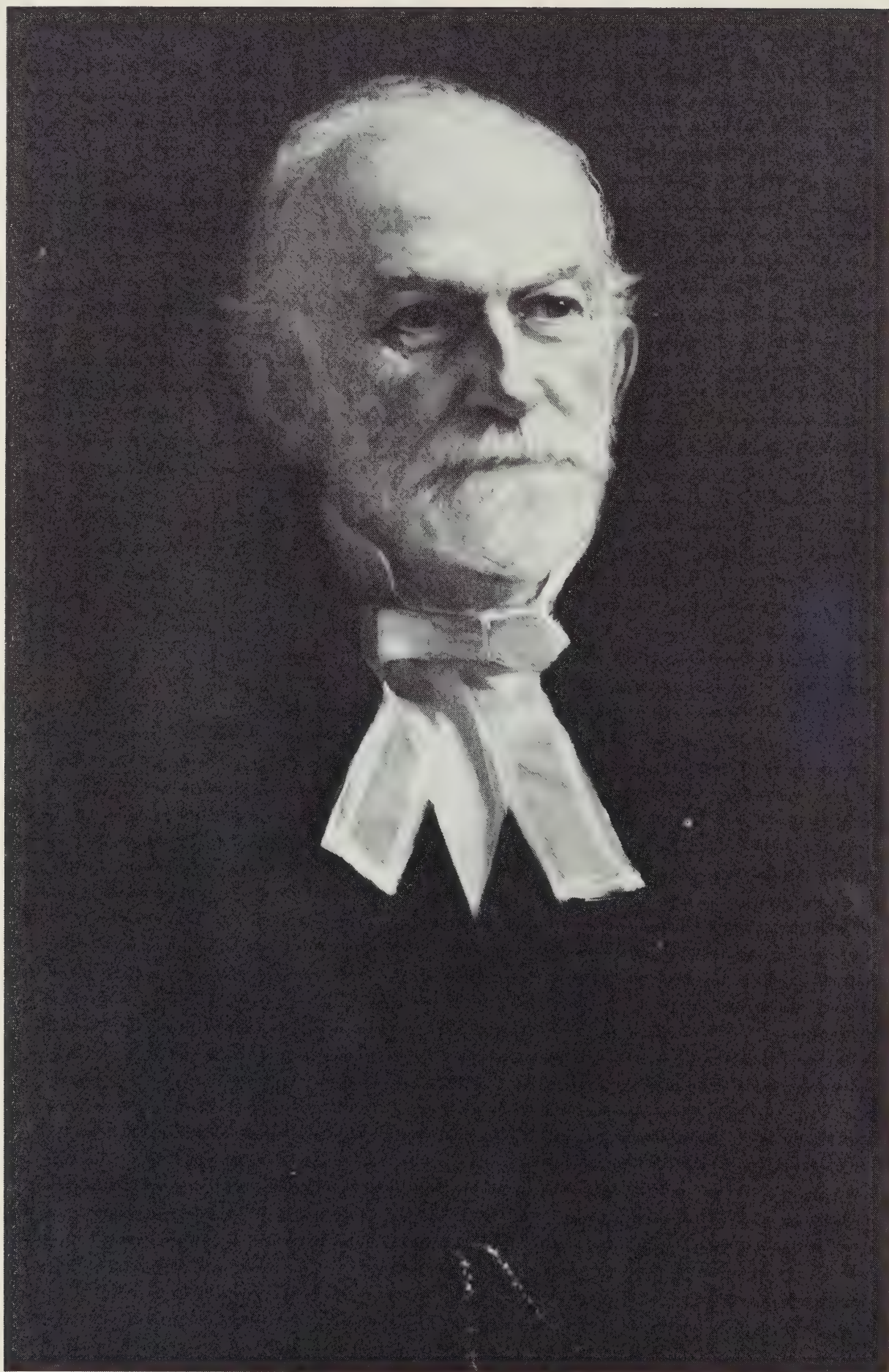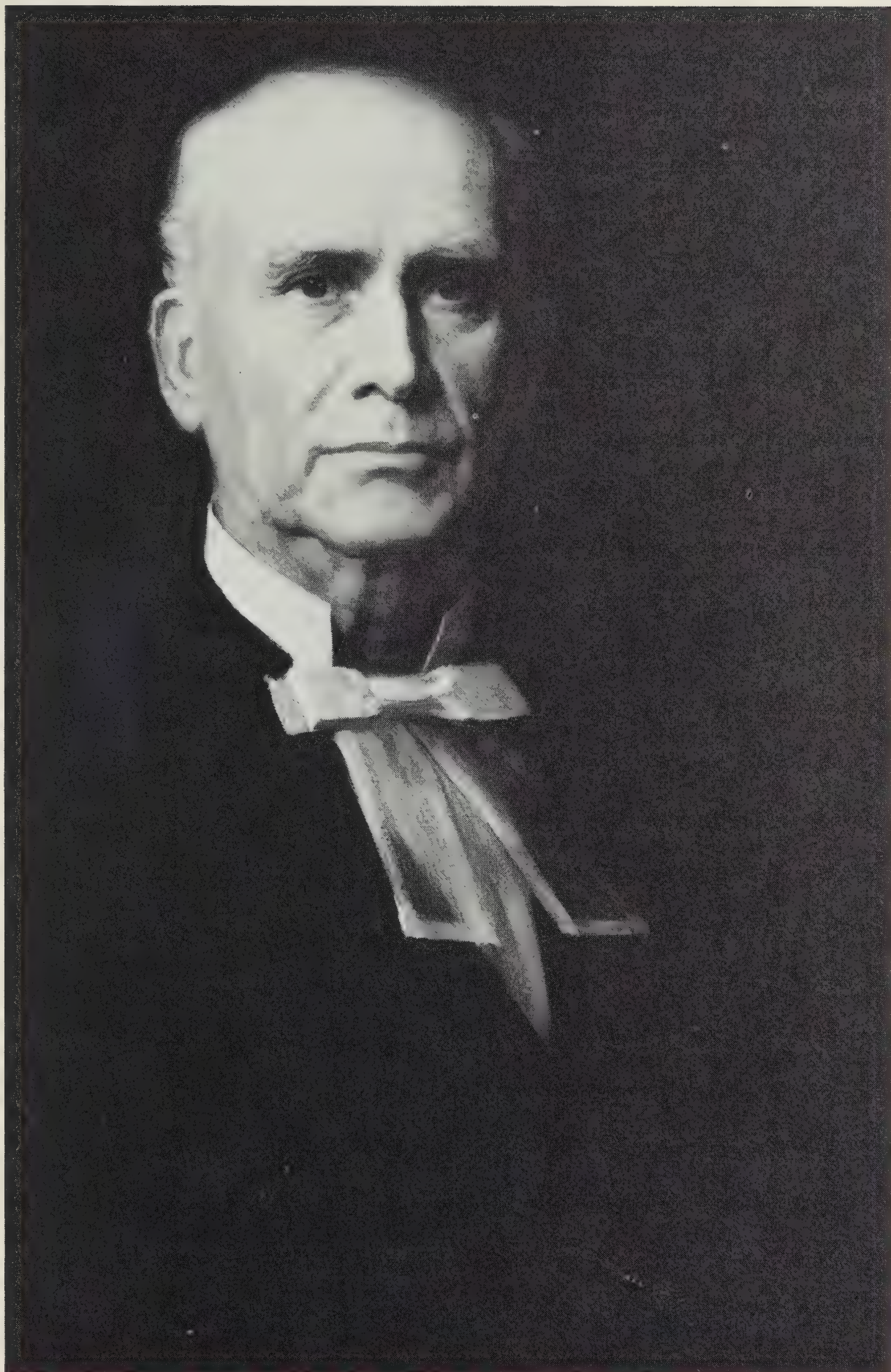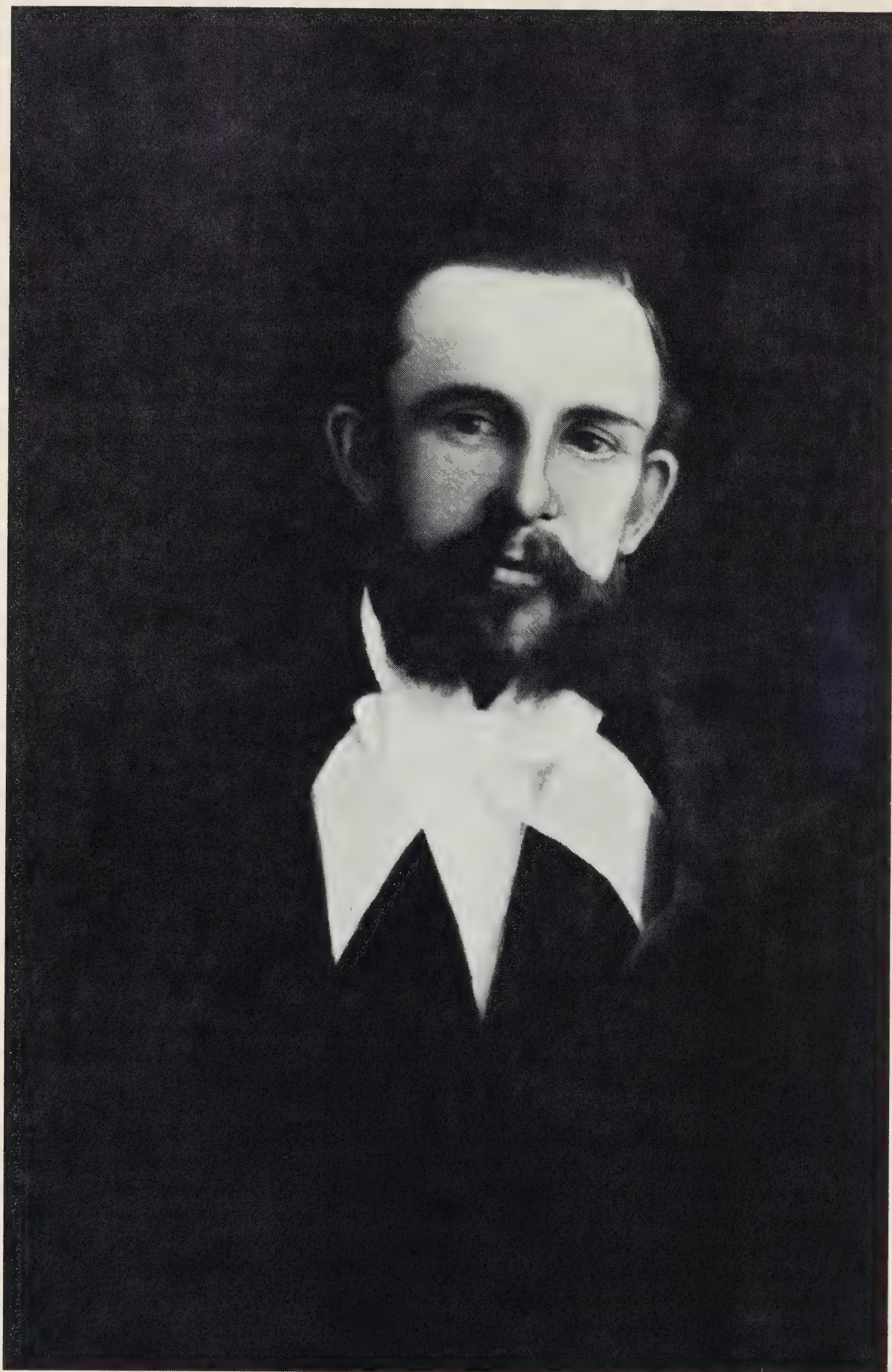
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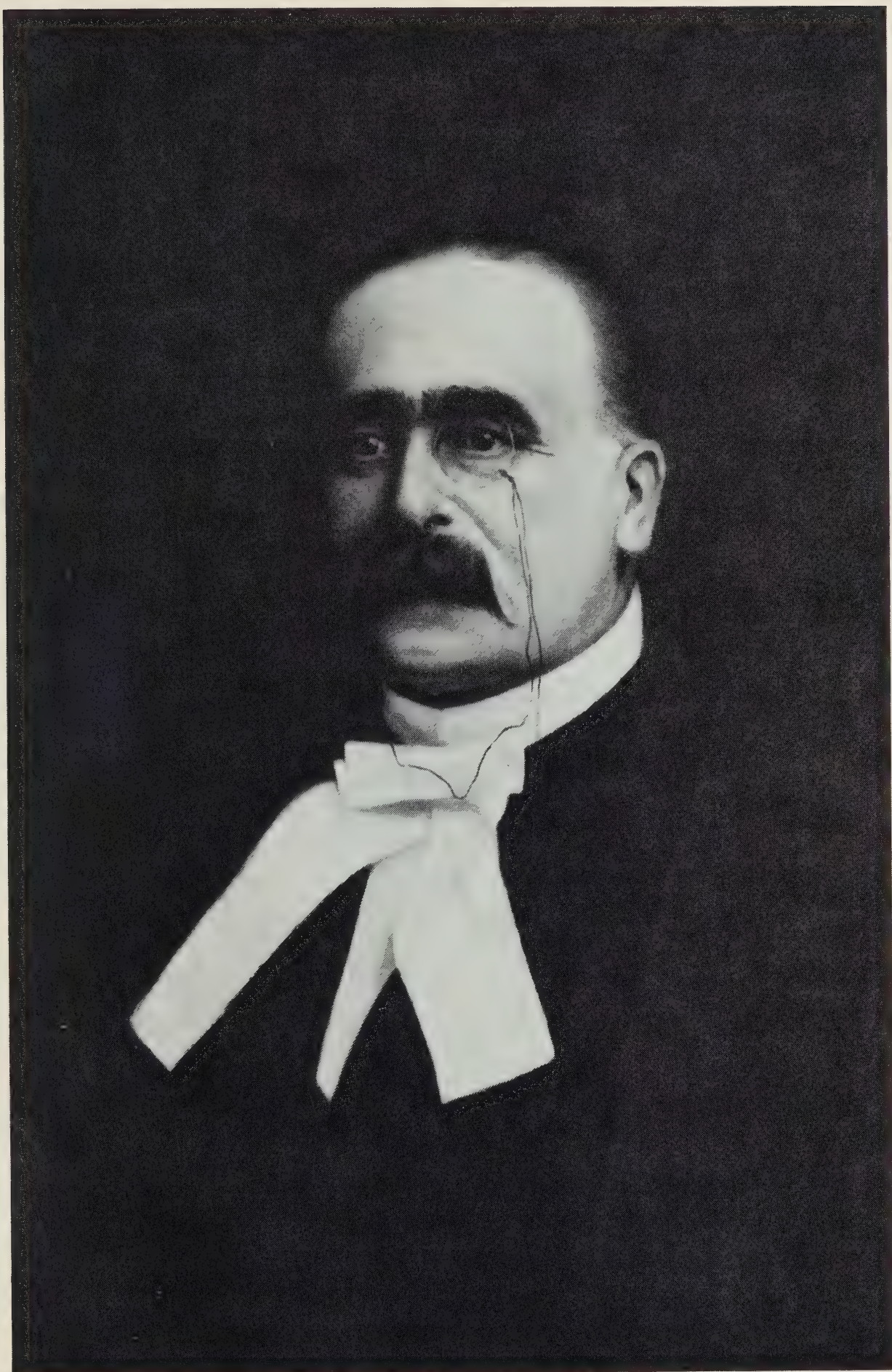
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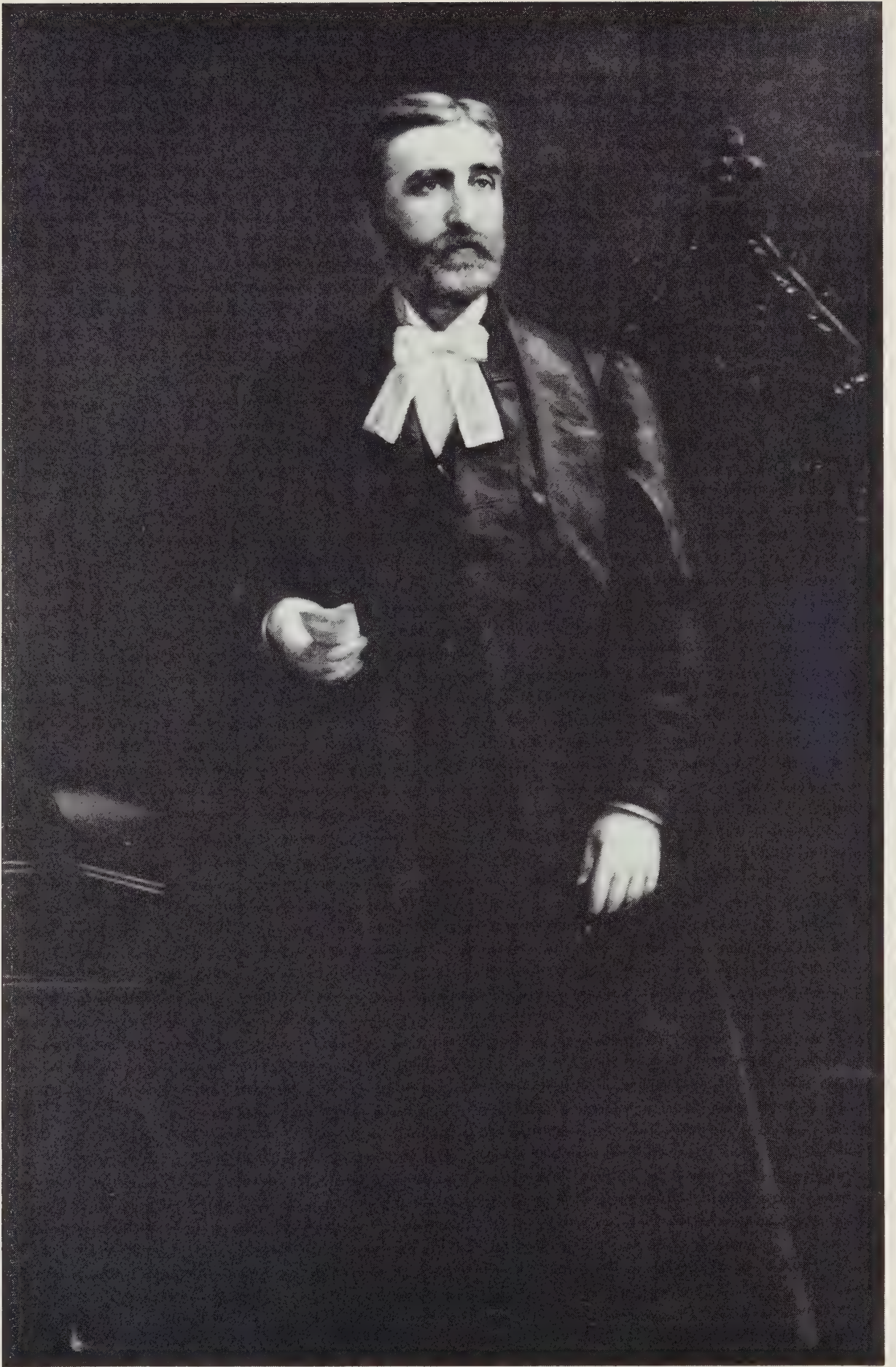
William Andrew Charlton
1903-1904

JOHN STEVENSON
1867–1871

When John Stevenson was born in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, on August 12, 1812, the United States Congress had just declared war on Britain and set out in its conquest of her North American colonies. He was barely five years old when his family pulled up their American roots to settle in Leeds County, Upper Canada. The decades that lay ahead for Ontario's first Speaker would witness the coming of age and rise to nationhood of the country itself.

Buoyed by a strong will that knew no failure, Stevenson overcame the initial barriers of a limited formal education through voracious reading in the sciences, political economy and jurisprudence. Like many self-made men of his day, he found his niche in an emerging industrial economy, becoming well-known throughout the expanding commercial centres of Lennox and Addington as a prominent figure in mercantile trade. Shortly after moving to Napanee in 1850, Stevenson acquired from the Hincks-Morin administration the timber berths in Addington and Frontenac that established his lumbering operations and through which he would accumulate most of his wealth. For the enterprising Stevenson, however, another challenge always called. During the course of some thirty years and several business partnerships, the young man who started out as a general store clerk in Bath built up and diversified his holdings to include at various times a flour mill, foundry and axe shop, a fleet of schooners, brush factory, piano company, and a successful mortgage, loan and real estate venture.

Though he could hardly turn a blind eye to the political drama unfolding about him during that time, Stevenson maintained only a passive interest in politics, refusing to be drawn into the fighting lines while devoting his energies entirely to these other endeavors. But, in the decade before Confederation, when agitation for the separation of Lennox and Addington from Frontenac County erupted into a battle over the selection of a county town, business and politics suddenly converged for Stevenson. His business interests had thrust him into a hotbed that would finally ignite his political career. Elected reeve of Napanee in 1860, Stevenson used his position to ensure the choice of that town as the county seat of

Lennox and Addington. Ironically, he claimed victory over opposing forces led by a former business partner, and, in 1863, became the first warden of Lennox and Addington. He held that office for three successive terms until 1865.

Two years later, when the writs were issued for Ontario's first provincial election, Stevenson was presented with an all-party petition urging him to accept the nomination in Lennox. In a contest where strong party lines concealed an absence of real issue division, Stevenson ran as an Independent against candidates nominated by Reform and Conservative conventions. When the polls closed after the first day's voting, the Stevenson camp distributed handbills (or ''dodgers'', as they were called), claiming that their man was leading the Reformer by 222 votes and the Conservative by 486.[4] With that, their rallying cry became ''Vote for Stevenson and save your votes.'' It was an appeal that worked.

Ontario's First Legislature opened in Toronto on December 27, 1867, in the old buildings that had been built by the Legislature of Upper Canada and occupied by that body from 1832 until 1841. The site, which had since served as an insane asylum and military barracks, would now offer a strangely fitting backdrop for the political chicanery to ensue. Led by John Sandfield Macdonald, a coalition of two Conservatives and three nominal Reformers had emerged from the 1867 elections with a legislative majority of about twenty-five seats.[5] With its popular appeal based on a deeply held distrust of political parties, the Patent Combination, as it was called, attempted to govern Ontario along non-partisan lines. Having established the rules of the game, the House set about its first order of business – the election of a Speaker.

No sooner had the member for Lennox taken his seat in the House than he was nominated to preside over its sittings. Veteran parliamentarians like Sir Henry Smith and R.W. Scott had been passed over for the honour; there was a certain symmetry in choosing a political newcomer as Speaker in this pioneer of provincial parliaments. According to the *Globe*, the government had resolved to select a Speaker from the Reform side of the House, and that it did in choosing Stevenson, although there were some on the Tory benches who could barely conceal their chagrin.[6] While Stevenson had not posed as a strong party man at the time of his election he

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had always been a Reformer. His politics had been strongly influenced by Marshall Spring Bidwell, another prominent Lennox Reformer, who had been elected Speaker of the Upper Canada Assembly in 1829. That he was elevated to the same office once held by a man so respected was to be an enduring source of pride for Stevenson.

The new Speaker was directed as to his course in the Chair by a resolution of the House, which declared "that the Rules, Orders and Forms of Proceedings of the House of Commons of Canada be, and until altered, the Rules, Orders and Proceedings of this House, as far as practicable."[7] If coalition government and the promise of few public bills outlined in the throne speech seemed to suggest that the first session would be relatively uncontentious, that expectation proved to be short-lived. Once in the Chair, Stevenson found himself in the unenviable position of presiding over an assembly where old-line party sympathies had resurrected divisions not only between government and opposition, but within the Patent Combination itself. With more than seventy of its eighty-two seats[8] now held by parliamentary novices, the procedural life of the new Legislature was further complicated by a flurry of private bills introduced by inexperienced members, each clamouring for attention and support. It was a formidable task even for a former justice of the peace who had been known locally as a "terror to evildoers."

Stevenson managed to preside over a frequently turbulent Legislature with a mix of firmness and flexibility, earning the respect of both sides of the House in the process. As it turned out, the speakership was to be his last public office. When he sought re-election in 1871 as the Liberal candidate for Lennox, the prestige he had gained as Speaker was not enough to offset the dissatisfaction among Liberal supporters with the coalition's policies during the preceding four years, and Stevenson was defeated. The following year, he ran federally, but lost to Conservative Richard Cartwright, a former political ally whom he had once helped to elect. John Stevenson died at Napanee on April 1, 1884, at the age of seventy-one.

RICHARD WILLIAM SCOTT
December 7–21, 1871

Richard William Scott was born at Prescott, Upper Canada, on February 24, 1825, the eldest son of Sarah McDonell[9] and William James Scott, an army surgeon who had served in the Peninsular War under Wellington. Privately tutored at Prescott, Scott went on to study law locally in the office of Marcus Burritt. After completing his term with the Toronto firm of Crooks and Smith he was called to the bar of Upper Canada in 1848 at the age of twenty-three. Like many of his successors in the Chair, Scott's introduction to politics came as a young lawyer seeking municipal office. He was elected to the Bytown council in 1851 and a year later became mayor. Driven into political life by a strong sense of purpose, his visible profile in the country's development during the next half-century distinguished Scott as one of that early group of men known as the ''Makers of Canada''.

In 1857, Scott entered the Legislature of Canada as the member for Ottawa and an independent supporter of the Cartier-Macdonald coalition. Regarded as a consummate political tactician, his quiet, methodical ways enabled him to realize an agenda that would have left lesser politicians immobilized by seemingly insurmountable obstacles. It was chiefly due to his exertions in the House that the once bawdy lumber town of Ottawa was chosen the nation's capital, despite the protestations of a vocal majority.[10] That Scott was able to turn such a stiff tide of resistance into support for the Ottawa plan says much about his success as a politician.

The same tenacity was reflected in his approach to the highly divisive issue of religion throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. As the Roman Catholic mayor of Bytown, he had once led a parade of Orangemen through the town's Irish and French Catholic stronghold in a bold intervention aimed at preventing bloody confrontation. Now, as a prominent Catholic supporter of the government, he was leading the fight for separate school legislation with the same dogged persistence. The Catholics of Upper Canada were asking for no more than what had long before been granted to Protestants in Lower Canada. Introduced three times in as many years, Scott's bill, which would later form the basis of minority

education rights guaranteed in the British North America Act, was passed finally in 1863 by a substantial majority.[11]

In the meantime, the Cartier-Macdonald government had been defeated and succeeded by the Liberal administration of John Sandfield Macdonald and A.A. Dorion. Scott's pledge to support John A. Macdonald for the remainder of the 1863 session earned him the enmity of then Premier Sandfield Macdonald and ultimately cost him his re-election that year – the only electoral defeat in a political career that stretched over sixty years.

Following Confederation and his election to the provincial Legislature in 1867, the member for Ottawa found himself in a new arena alongside an old political foe. For most of the next four years, however, Scott gave Sandfield Macdonald's Patent Combination independent if unenthusiastic support. During that time, he and Macdonald locked horns on several issues, although none more explosive than those affecting railway interests. As a director of the Canada Central Railway, Scott fought Macdonald fiercely over the railway's land grant entitlement for construction of its line between Ottawa and Carleton Place, and withdrew his personal support from the Premier during the election campaign of 1871 in retaliation for the latter's intransigence in refusing to authorize the grant.

Now, as the government faced the opening of a new Legislature with its previous majority shattered and its grip on power tenuous, Macdonald offered Scott the speakership in return for his promise of support. That the offer came at all surely surprised Scott. Although he had entered the Legislature in 1867 with an unparalleled grasp of parliamentary procedure, he had been passed over as Speaker in favour of the inexperienced Stevenson. Suddenly, the same man who had worked so hard to ensure his defeat in the 1863 election came to him with the nomination that would place him in the Chair. For his part, Scott remained reluctant, not only because it would mean giving up his cherished role in the House as the champion of Ottawa Valley concerns, but also because he had grave reservations regarding whether or not the Macdonald ministry was worthy of support.[12] Only when Macdonald relented to his demands for the settlement of the Canada Central issue did Scott accept the nomination.

Macdonald must have thought it an adroit political move. In one gesture, he had managed to silence Scott, while at the same time conciliating the religious interests he represented by placing a Catholic in the exalted speakership. In fact, however, the fate of Macdonald and his coalition had already been sealed. Despite its impressive electoral victory in 1867, support for the Patent Combination had gradually disintegrated during the preceding four years and the 1871 election left control of the Legislature in some doubt.[13] With strong anti-ministerial sentiment and a combination of tactical errors on the government's part working to its advantage, the Liberal opposition moved quickly to the attack and soon defeated the coalition on the crucial question of confidence.

After just two weeks in office, Scott resigned the speakership on December 21, 1871, lured from the Chair by the promise of a cabinet post in the newly formed Liberal ministry of Edward Blake. If it was the shortest term ever recorded for a presiding officer of the Ontario Legislature, it may also have been the most ignominious. As Speaker, Scott had used his position to influence his Ottawa Valley colleagues in the House against the government. But through a series of injudicious press reports attacking the Speaker's integrity, Macdonald, too, had helped to undermine the dignity of the office by channeling his personal animosity for Scott into an assault on the speakership itself.[14] When Scott rose from the Chair to vindicate his name, Macdonald refused to allow him to speak. "I say the Speaker is the Speaker for the House," argued Macdonald, "We are a demoralized House if we allow the Speaker to rise."[15] It was left to Scott's successor in the Chair to restore its prestige.

Scott's appointment on December 21, 1871 as the province's Commissioner of Crown Lands prompted a vitriolic attack by his opponents in the Legislature. Conservative coalitionists accused him of political opportunism in crossing the floor to join the new Liberal administration. But for Scott, the issue of party loyalty had always been subordinate to his specific concerns as the representative of Ottawa Valley lumber interests. The fact that he had been given charge of a department so closely connected with the material well-being of the industry he represented, while not entirely unheard of at that time, did create additional problems, however. Conservative leader M.C. Cameron seized on this apparent conflict of interest by publicly charging that Scott was the "paid agent" of the timber

trade.[16] Notwithstanding such claims, the land and timber policies adopted during Scott's tenure as Commissioner have been singled out as significant factors in the long-term electoral success of the Liberal administration over the next thirty years.

Having played a central role in the consolidation of Liberal support in Ontario, Scott resigned as Crown Lands Commissioner in 1873 to join the newly formed federal administration of Alexander Mackenzie. He was sworn one of the Queen's Privy Councillors shortly thereafter, and was appointed Secretary of State in 1874, a portfolio he held until the government's defeat in 1878 and one which he resumed in the Laurier administration from 1896 to 1908. He was called to the Senate in March 1874, and while in the Upper House piloted through the all-important Canada Temperance Act, popularly known as the Scott Act. In 1908, at the age of eighty-three, Scott resigned his cabinet post, and with it, his position as government leader in the Senate. The following year he was created a knight bachelor. Although he had retired, he continued to take an active interest in Senate affairs, and on February 26, 1913, he addressed the House on the abolition of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was to be his last public address. Richard Scott died in Ottawa on April 23, 1913. He was eighty-eight.

JAMES GEORGE CURRIE
1871–1873

James George Currie was born on November 24, 1827, the first of three Ontario Speakers who began their lives in Toronto. Educated at Niagara, he went on to study law and was called to the bar of Upper Canada in 1853. He was twice wed. His first wife died in 1863; he later married Emma Harvey, a woman of remarkable character most noted for her acclaimed volume on the life of Laura Secord. Currie shared with her a passionate interest in Canadian history. In the decades to follow, Currie would himself take an active part in the stirring events which were to shape that history.

In 1862, Currie stepped down as mayor of St. Catharines, a position he had held for two years, to seek a seat as the member for Niagara in the Legislative Council of Canada. There he vigorously pressed his opposition to the Confederation resolutions, attacking the proposed scheme as ill-conceived and denouncing its drafters for willfully misleading the country.[17] While favouring in principle the idea of union, Currie believed the time was not right. But the circumstances that conspired to transform the move toward unity into a formidable force demanded a bold and decisive response, and Currie's appeal for caution was lost in that sense of immediacy. Unable to accept the conditions on which Confederation was based, he resigned his seat in 1865.

It was not only in political affairs that Currie rose to prominence, however. Fenian excitement in the northern states following the end of the American Civil War had served to heighten anxiety over the vulnerability of the Niagara Peninsula to attack. In 1866, the Fenian threat that had so often before turned out to be exaggerated finally materialized with the landing of fifteen hundred troops at Fort Erie on June 1. Having inherited the military instincts of his father, Currie, now Colonel, commanded the 19th Lincoln Regiment during that raid.

Given the central role politics had played in his life to this point, it is probably unlikely that Currie could have stayed on the periphery for much longer. Turning his attention to provincial affairs, he campaigned in 1867 for a seat in Ontario's First Legislature.

Unsuccessful in that bid, however, he served again as mayor of St. Catharines from 1869 to 1870. In the provincial election that followed in 1871, Currie ran as the Reform candidate for the constituency of Welland, managing to poll a majority of 139 votes over the incumbent.[18] His opponent's support for the Patent Combination over the previous four years had alienated a significant block of Welland Reformers and no doubt tipped the electoral scales in Currie's favour.[19]

When the Second Legislature opened on December 7, 1871, Currie took his place among the other members in the House, unaware that the turn of events over the next two weeks would have such a dramatic impact on his life. In the retreat from coalition politics that drove Richard Scott from the Speaker's dais and into the arms of Edward Blake and the Reformers, Currie was swiftly taken from the backbenches to the Speaker's Chair. It was a difficult beginning even for a member said to possess an expert understanding of parliamentary procedure. Under the circumstances, it was inevitable that Currie's credentials would be held up to close scrutiny. Those who had stood by Sandfield Macdonald through the last days of his crumbling coalition were particularly vicious, expressing their hope that the new Speaker would not follow his predecessor's example in turning on the government that had put him in the Chair.[20] As if to admonish him for Scott's indiscretions, they later refused to support a motion to increase the Speaker's salary, which was to stay at one thousand dollars.[21]

With the abolition of dual representation in 1872, the practice which had allowed members to hold seats concurrently in both the federal and provincial Houses ended. If this development left some members to choose between the two, for most it was not a difficult choice to make. The provincial position had all along been regarded as a step down in terms of power and prestige.[22] Now, that fact had been underscored by the exodus of prominent members from the Legislature. Among them was Edward Blake, who resigned as Premier to sit in Ottawa – the only place, it was said, for a man of talent. Oliver Mowat, lost to political life after his appointment as Vice Chancellor of Upper Canada, emerged in 1872 to form a new Liberal administration as Blake's successor. A strong proponent of the notion that the Legislature exists to legislate, Mowat believed that the more bills passed, the better it was performing its

role. During his first session, the work of the Legislature increased dramatically, with 163 bills passed.[23] Under Sandfield Macdonald the sessional average had been 93.[24] To keep up that pace, the House often sat past midnight. The strain of long hours spent presiding over often tedious debate would have taken its toll of the most resilient character. For Currie, the Speaker's duties had by now become so irksome that he could not complete his term in the Chair. Believing that he could better serve his constituents as a private member, he resigned the speakership on March 29, 1873.

Though by most accounts a popular Speaker with both sides of the House, Currie's voice had been missed in debate. Once he resumed his seat on the floor, he regularly spoke out on the issues of the day. He pressed for universal manhood suffrage in local parliamentary elections, while offering strong resistance to the Orange Lodge Incorporation Bills. A Clear Grit in his politics, Currie's aggressive style earned him a reputation as the "war horse" of the party. That he was a politician who never missed an opportunity is illustrated by an old and nearly forgotten story of how Currie once seized a train and held its passengers and crew hostage, all to extract compensation for a farmer whose cattle had been slaughtered on tracks owned by the Canada Southern Railway.

If this was the kind of story that made Currie a hero, there were other stories that made him into a villain, stories that would turn him into a pariah in the party that once had had only the deepest regard for him. In 1877 and 1878, it came to light that Currie had been misappropriating his clients' funds. Despite his outstanding record as a public servant, editorial opinion was harsh. The Thorold *Post* wondered: "Is it not humiliating to see a man who has held some of the highest political offices which his compeers could bestow on him – amongst which was Speaker of the Legislature – placed in the felon's dock, charged with a heinous crime. . .we cannot help thinking that it is time the electors of the County of Welland were looking around for a better representative than J.G. Currie."[25] The Court of Chancery took action to strike Currie from its roll of solicitors, a particularly stinging indictment for a Bencher of the Law Society. Unable to redeem himself in the eyes of his constituents, Currie was defeated in the 1879 election by Conservative opponent Daniel Near.[26]

It was an inglorious end to an otherwise distinguished political career. He was later appointed registrar of Lincoln County, a position he held until his death on December 8, 1901.

RUPERT MEARSE WELLS
1874–1879

Rupert Mearse Wells was born in the County of Prescott in Upper Canada on November 28, 1835. A Jameson Gold Medalist in history, he graduated from the University of Toronto in 1854 and went on to study law with the distinguished firm of Blake, Conner, Morrison and McDonald. Three years after his call to the bar in 1857, he entered practice with Edward Blake, a close friend and contemporary who would soon take his place among the greatest lawyers of his day.

In his political beliefs, Wells was labelled a staunch Reformer, part of an inner circle of Liberals on the party's left who, led by Blake in the 1870s, had grown restive under the ideological grip of George Brown and the old-time Grits. While Blake's oratorical prowess pushed him toward the Liberal leadership in Ontario's First Legislature and into the Premier's chair after the resignation of Sandfield Macdonald's government in 1871, Wells was visible only among the cadre of intellectuals active in the Liberal party's extra-parliamentary wing.

When Edward Blake left provincial politics in 1872, Wells stepped into the breach by contesting Blake's former constituency of Bruce South in the by-election that followed. By this time, he had left behind his practice with Blake and had become County Attorney of York. Although their association as law partners had dissolved, the connection with Blake continued to be important. During that first provincial campaign, signposts throughout the riding urged, "Vote for R.M. Wells, friend of Edward Blake." Given Blake's popularity, messages linking the two could only have helped Wells' prospects of election. On January 8, 1873, he was sworn in as the member for Bruce South and took his place on the floor of the Legislature.

Wells' entry into the Legislature coincided with the political baptism of Oliver Mowat as the province's new Liberal Premier, and the beginning of the Golden Age of Liberalism in Ontario. The Mowat era, which spanned nearly a quarter-century, would be noted as one of evolutionary change, but the legislative session of 1873

which marked its birth seemed, at first, to be mired in the past. With nothing to seize onto in Mowat's platform, a weak Conservative opposition focused its attack instead on the Premier's "descent from the bench" and the implications this held for a judiciary whose pristine integrity, it was argued, had been sullied by a former judge's return to the not so pristine world of partisan politics.[27] In the days to follow, old political battles like the "Speak Now" incident involving Blake, the charges against former Speaker Scott, and an election scandal known as the "Proton Outrage," would be fought anew.[28] As the session proceeded, however, Mowat managed to push through much of his legislative program, including amendments to the Election Law and the Licence Act and, most importantly, passage of the Municipal Loan Fund Act.

Although he had won a prize for rhetoric during his days at the University of Toronto, Wells was an infrequent debater in the House. The voice from Bruce South, once so strong and eloquent, had seemed to fade in the din. In that first year, however, Wells showed himself to be a man respected on both sides of the House, a man, in Mowat's opinion, who would preside over the House with dignity and impartiality.

Currie's resignation as Speaker following the end of the 1873 session had drawn the ire of some members who now argued that the House, having elevated the Speaker to his position in the first place, accordingly had the right to be consulted should he decide to vacate the Chair. With nothing in the Confederation Act to direct him in such a situation, Mowat looked to British practice for guidance in nominating a successor to Currie. The honour fell on the member for Bruce South, whom Mowat described as "a good lawyer, of fair and judicial mind. . .who has a larger share of the confidence of the members of this House than perhaps any other gentleman on this side, and at the same time, more personal friends on the other."[29] Despite protestations concerning Wells' apparent lack of experience for the office, he made his way to the Chair on January 7, 1874, the third Speaker to preside over the Second Legislature.

When the Third Legislature opened the following year, the view from the gallery had been altered. Mowat's Liberals were returned with a reduced majority. Such familiar faces as Liberal Archibald McKellar were now gone, and new blood had been infused into

the opposition in the person of William MacDougall, a veteran of federal politics. Once again, the House faced the now familiar task of selecting a Speaker. Citing the British custom of re-electing the Speaker of the previous Parliament should he be returned to the House, the Premier took the unprecedented action in Ontario of nominating a sitting Speaker for a second term. Wells' performance over the past two sessions had not been universally applauded, however. While Mowat maintained that Wells' experience as presiding officer made him the best choice, Conservative Leader Matthew Crooks Cameron clearly dissented, levelling against the Speaker charges of inefficiency and worse. It was tough talk, but either unable or unwilling to back his allegations with evidence, the opposition leader made no attempt to put his protest on record by calling for a vote. For its part, however, the *Globe* argued, "we cannot assent to the view that British precedent should have any influence in the choice of a Speaker for the House of Commons of Canada or the Provincial Assemblies."[30] Once these protests had been aired, Wells took his place in the Chair once more on November 24, 1875, the first Ontario Speaker to be re-elected for a second term.

Wells stepped down as Speaker at the close of the Third Legislature. By consensus, he seems to have been seen as a worthy occupant of the Chair, his decisions described by one observer as "full, clear. . .admirable examples of really judicial ruling."[31] He was returned to the Legislature following the general election of 1879 and sat as a member of the Select Committee on Railway Accidents. In 1882, he resigned his seat in the Legislature to seek election for the federal constituency of Bruce East, a seat he held for the next five years. Wells retired from political life following his defeat in the federal election of 1887. He continued an active law practice, however, representing the Canadian Pacific Railway as its legal agent until his death in 1902.

CHARLES CLARKE
1880–1886

The son of a city corn inspector, Charles Clarke was born in Lincoln, England on November 28, 1826. From an early age his exposure to the teachings of such prominent radicals as Thomas Cooper, George Boole, and John Norton greatly influenced the development of Clarke's political thought. At the age of fifteen, he drafted an ''Address to the Young Men of England,'' in which he urged youth to batter down ''the hitherto unfathomable dungeons of ignorance of our modern aristocrats.''[32] Imbued with the doctrines of advanced British liberalism, Clarke spent his entire life in the cause of progress and reform.

When Clarke emigrated to Canada in 1844, the bitter struggle for responsible government and mounting tensions between French and English threatened the foundations of the union that had begun uneasily three years earlier. Against this background of profound political unrest, Clarke settled down to a life of farming in the Niagara District. Had he not suffered from the fever and ague then common to that part of the country, the political ideas of this Reformer might not have found a vehicle for expression. His move to Elora in 1848 afforded Clarke both relief for his allergies and an outlet for his politics. First as a journalist with the Hamilton *Journal and Express*, then as the ''Reformator'' – the pseudonym under which he contributed a series of letters to the Toronto *Mirror* – Clarke used these and other reform organs to take his radical views to the people.

By the time the Elora *Backwoodsman* came under his editorial hand in 1852, those views had been well thought out, their development nurtured by his close association with the younger democratic enthusiasts of the Clear Grit party in Canada West – men like Charles Lindsey, William MacDougall, and David Christie. His pen was employed in the demands for elective institutions, pure democracy, and the separation of church and state that were the essence of Clear Gritism at its birth.

Following Elora's incorporation, Clarke was elected in 1858 to the first council. He was appointed reeve the following year, and for

many years occupied a seat on the Wellington County Council and the Elora High School Board. In Wellington, as in so many other counties, parochial concerns like the construction of gravel roads were soon overshadowed by broader questions confronting the provinces in that decade before Confederation. Foremost among these, of course, was the issue of defence. In April 1861, the first shot of the American Civil war had been fired and, as Clarke later recalled, "the people of Canada awoke suddenly to the fact that the country was without other serviceable defence than was afforded by Imperial troops and Imperial military skill."[33] In the weeks to follow, meetings were held in the village of Elora that resulted in the formation of a volunteer rifle corps with Clarke as lieutenant. In 1866, he became captain, serving at Chatham and Point Edward during the Fenian raids. He was gazetted senior major the same year on formation of the 30th Wellington Battalion and promoted to lieutenant-colonel in 1871. He remained in command of the regiment until his retirement from the active service list in 1893.

Long involved in politics as secretary of the Wellington North Reform Association, Colonel Clarke was unanimously nominated as the Reform candidate for Wellington Centre in the provincial election of 1871. Successful in this, his first bid for a provincial seat, he was later returned to the Assembly in 1875 by acclamation and again in 1879 by a substantial majority. From the time he took his place among its members, Clarke's contribution to the work of the Legislature was considerable. He introduced and carried through the House several bills concerning Ontario farmers, including a measure requiring that the exposed parts of threshing machines be covered and a bill making it unlawful to destroy any insectivorous bird. He also did much to establish a system of county poor houses throughout the province. It was in the cause of parliamentary reform, however, that Clarke expended most of his energies. In his reminiscences, he refers to the pervasiveness of electoral corruption in the years after Confederation, writing that "the evil had become so serious and threatening that every honest man felt the necessity of some effective remedy."[34] During the 1873 session, Clarke brought forward a bill providing for use of the secret ballot in parliamentary elections. Re-introduced as a government bill in the following year, vote by ballot finally became part of the election laws in Ontario.

The Fourth Legislature opened on January 7, 1880, its first order of business the election of a new Speaker. In rising to make the

nomination, the Premier cited what he called the now established custom in the provincial legislatures that a Speaker should not occupy the Chair for more than one or two terms. In deference to that convention – and no doubt also remembering the scene he had created on this occasion four years earlier – Mowat nominated Clarke as Wells' successor in the Chair. It was an office for which Clarke was eminently qualified. He had represented the constituency of Wellington Centre in the Assembly for the previous nine years and in the last Legislature had served successfully as chairman of the Whole House. His knowledge of parliamentary procedure was unequalled by any other sitting member. With these professional credentials, he took to the Chair the well-honed powers of observation and sense of humour for which he was noted. As it turned out, Clarke would have to draw on all his resources as Speaker. Throughout this Legislature and the one to follow, the government and opposition fought endlessly over the question of provincial rights, which, although a constitutional question, had become a hot political issue in Ontario and arguably the only one which drew real distinctions between the two old-line parties.

So ably, in fact, did he preside over its sittings that the House unanimously re-elected Clarke to a second term in 1884. The "established" Canadian custom of limiting a Speaker's tenure had given way to the British principle of continuity, which saw a Speaker re-elected to preside over successive Parliaments until he chose to retire. The election of 1883 had returned Mowat's Liberals with a reduced majority and the Conservative opposition led by W.R. Meredith refused to let up on its attack on the government. It was during the Fifth Legislature that the House was rocked by scandal with the disclosure of the "Bribery Plot" – a scheme to defeat the government by buying off some of its members. Shortly thereafter, the House was shaken by another discovery – this time, a cartridge of dynamite found recessed in a wall of the legislative building itself. The usual litany of slanderous statements surfaced in the partisan press, of course, with Liberal newspapers editorializing that it was all part of a Tory plot to destroy evidence connected to the bribery charges. Conservative papers countered with accusations that the Grits had done it to elicit sympathy for the government. As the year came to a close, the real culprit was still to be found.

Through all this, the Speaker kept a firm hand on the proceedings. When he retired from the office with the closing of that Legislature,

Clarke had presided over the House for seven consecutive sessions – the longest term ever for a Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. He had discharged his duties with judicial impartiality, gaining the respect and admiration of members on both sides of the House. Representing the constituency of Wellington East following the 1886 election, Clarke resumed his seat as a private member, acting as chairman of the Public Accounts Committee until he resigned in 1891, having been appointed Clerk of the House. At Mowat's urging, he authored the *Member's Manual*, a guide to practice and procedure in the Legislative Assembly.

Clarke retired in 1907; his reminiscences, *Sixty Years in Upper Canada*, were published shortly after. He died in Elora on April 6, 1909, a stalwart Canadian liberal to the end.

JACOB BAXTER
1887–1890

Jacob Baxter began his life in Welland County on June 6, 1832, the second generation of his family born in Canada. Like his father, a reeve of the township of Bertie and a man of considerable local influence, Baxter would himself become one of the best known and most highly respected figures of the Niagara Peninsula. After a preliminary education at local schools, Baxter went on to study medicine, although it is difficult to say with any certainty where he studied. His name never appeared on rolls of the Toronto School of Medicine. Other biographical sources suggest that he studied medicine in New York State, although, here too, the sources contradict each other. The records seem to indicate that Baxter became a licentiate of the provincial medical board in 1853. Shortly thereafter, he established himself in Cayuga, where he was later joined in practice by his younger brother Benjamin.

From an early age, Baxter demonstrated a keen interest in military affairs. As a child he had been filled with tales of his colonial ancestors fighting for Britain in the War of 1812. Stories describing how his grandfather had taken the injured at Fort Erie to his barn four miles away to have their wounds dressed left a lasting impression on young Baxter. The County of Haldimand had always been known for its military connections.[35] It seemed only fitting that Baxter would some day take his place among its distinguished ranks. In 1856, he was gazetted surgeon of the 2nd Battalion of Haldimand and continued to act in that capacity in the 37th Regiment for many years. Having attained the rank of surgeon-lieutenant colonel, Baxter retired with a Fenian raid medal and a long service medal.

A life-long Reformer active in politics as president of the Haldimand Reform Association, Baxter was elected to the First Legislature of Ontario in 1867. He held the provincial riding of Haldimand virtually without interruption for the next thirty-one years and, with it, a place alongside the rebel William Lyon Mackenzie in the political folklore of Haldimand County. Although he seldom spoke in the House, Baxter remained ever watchful of the public interest. During his career as a private member, he steered through the

Legislature a series of measures to amend and consolidate the acts regulating the practice of medicine and surgery in Ontario. Despite a retiring nature, he wielded considerable influence in political affairs both inside and outside the House and was known as a "sage and safe" party adviser whose opinions on the most crucial questions were actively sought by Liberal veterans and by the Premier himself.

When Baxter was unanimously elected to preside over the Sixth Legislature in 1887, he was one of the Old Guard, one of the last remaining members of the Assembly, and Haldimand's representative in the House for the preceding two decades. Charles Clarke, whom Baxter succeeded in the Chair and who seconded his nomination, later recalled, "From his large experience, his natural dignity, and knowledge of parliamentary law, he was well-fitted to occupy the position to which he was now called."[36] The Premier's battles with the federal government over the question of provincial status continued to rivet the attention of the House during the next several sessions. For over a decade, Ontario and Ottawa had been locked in constitutional conflict over the Escheats Case, the Crooks Act, and the River and Streams Bill. Through all of this, Meredith's Conservatives had taken up the cause of federal rights, and the Legislature had become a stage where the Mowat government could, through the opposition, act out its battles with Ottawa. With the opening of the 1887 session, the first over which Baxter was to preside, exchanges between the government and opposition benches heated up over the still outstanding issue of Ontario's boundary.

Nevertheless, Baxter's course in the Chair over the next three years was characterized by fair and satisfactory decisions. He retired at the close of the Sixth Legislature and, following the 1890 election, was returned by the voters of Haldimand to his seat in the Assembly. His long and celebrated career in the House was interrupted for a brief moment in 1894, however, when he was defeated in his riding by John Senn, who had run under the Patrons of Industry banner. This was the first provincial contest in which the Patrons held the status of a recognized political party. The strength of their appeal to agrarian interests caused some concern among both Liberals and Conservatives, who now faced a third-party candidate in many ridings. While the Patrons won seventeen seats throughout the province, Senn was forced to vacate his own seat on petition. In

the by-election that followed, Baxter was once again returned to the Legislature.

This was to be Baxter's last election campaign. He retired from provincial politics at the end of his term in 1898, having served his constituents in Haldimand since Confederation. In that time Ontario had come a long distance down the road that would take the province into the new century. Shortly after his retirement from the Legislature, Baxter was appointed registrar of deeds for Haldimand County, a position he held until his death on July 23, 1912.

THOMAS BALLANTYNE
1891–1894

Thomas Ballantyne was born in Peebles, Scotland, on August 13, 1829. Although his ancestors were originally shepherds, his father had left that life behind and retired to Peebles where, he hoped, he could secure a better education for young Thomas and his brothers. Ballantyne came to Canada in 1852, settling in the Township of Downie alongside such other prominent Lowland Scots as the Smiths, the Dicksons, the Murrays, and a branch of his own family here since 1839. Without wealth or influence in those early days, his capital consisted mainly of human stock – a robust constitution and a resolute character – qualities that would make Ballantyne a major force in the business and political life of the province.

Initially, however, Ballantyne taught school for several years following his arrival in Canada, and he continued to teach even after he had been drawn into public life. In 1855, he was appointed auditor of the township accounts of Downie and a year later he became clerk, alternating between the two offices over the next decade. By the time of Confederation, he had become the first elected reeve of Downie. During his several years in that post, Ballantyne's work in connection with settlement of the Municipal Loan Fund debt and construction of the Stratford and Wiarton Railways arguably resulted in great benefit to the County of Perth. Such single-minded concern for the good of the whole, however, was to prove politically fatal in a county where divisive issues often pitted northern and southern townships against each other. As reeve of Downie, Ballantyne represented the southern townships on county council and yet cast the deciding vote in favour of a railway line to the north end of Perth. As a result of that vote, he lost his base of support in the south and with it the next municipal election.

Politics was but one dimension to Ballantyne's life, however. While fighting local battles on county council in the 1860s and 1870s, he began to turn his considerable energies towards forging a different frontier. Over the next decade, the Ballantyne name became synonymous with development of Ontario's fledgling dairy industry, his cheese factory at Black Creek a model for the study of processing methods. In 1876, a Black Creek sample won the gold medal at

the Centennial World Exhibition held in Philadelphia. By 1879, Ballantyne's firm was the largest exporter of cheese in the province. Word of his reputation spread quickly across the Atlantic and he was soon addressing gatherings of dairymen in his native Scotland, where his influence extended beyond agricultural concerns. An ardent Gladstonian, he was once silenced at a Liberal-Unionist meeting in Peebles because he was not a voter and therefore not entitled to speak. Ballantyne, undaunted by all this, simply adjourned the meeting to the streets, where he was free to speak and where most of the audience followed!

When he was turned out of office as reeve in 1871, he performed a similar feat, this time changing the venue to provincial politics. Ballantyne campaigned that year as a Liberal in the constituency of Perth North, but lost to the Conservative candidate Andrew Monteith by just over 400 votes. There was an ironic twist to Ballantyne's defeat in Perth North: as reeve, he had sacrificed the interests of the southern townships on the railway issue, now only to be sacrificed himself by the very electors who had benefited from that vote. The following year, he was urged to seek a seat in the House of Commons, but declined for personal reasons. Finally, in 1875, Ballantyne's long-awaited initiation to the Ontario Legislature came as he took his place on the floor of the Assembly as the member for Perth South. He had little trouble holding that seat over the next four elections.

It was said of Ballantyne that he spoke as easily in a public assembly as at a fireside. It was also said that he spared neither himself nor his means in advancing the cause of reform. His work in the Legislature demonstrated the truth of both observations. Moreover, it revealed the depth of his commitment to this province's farmers. In debate, Ballantyne emerged as the guardian of Ontario's dairy industry. Over the years, he served on Select Committees studying that industry and on the Ontario Agricultural Commission.

The province's Seventh Legislature opened on February 11, 1891. It seemed fitting that Ballantyne should be honoured with the speakership during what were to be his last years in the House. Although he had always been a Reformer, he was a man held in high esteem by all who knew him, regardless of their partisan leanings and he took with him to the Chair the warm wishes of the entire House.

He was the first Speaker to guide the House in its deliberations in the new chamber at Queen's Park, just as he had been the last to preside at the historic site that had cradled the Ontario Legislature in the years after its birth. But this was not Ballantyne's only link to Speakers past: his sons James and Thomas both married daughters of former Speaker Charles Clarke, now Clerk of the Assembly. Clarke later said of Ballantyne's time in the Chair that "partisan feeling never entered into his decisions."[37]

In the campaign of 1894, Liberals and Conservatives in seventeen ridings were swept out of office by candidates running under the Patrons of Industry banner. This sudden turn of political waters caught Ballantyne in its cross-current. Ballantyne's narrow defeat, however, probably said less about the Patrons as a powerful political force than about the sinuous ways of his opponent. As to the outcome of that campaign, Charles Clarke later observed that Ballantyne had not evinced the same deep interest in politics since the close of the last Legislature, and that it was "largely owing to this fact that Perth has been somewhat erratic in its political course."[38] Ballantyne was the first sitting Speaker to be defeated at the polls since John Stevenson in 1871.

The 1894 campaign brought to a close the political chapter of Ballantyne's life. It was not as a politician that he would be re-membered, however; his legacy was of a different kind. His efforts in helping to develop and sustain a healthy dairy industry in the province would live long after the fighting words of the politician had faded on the pages of Ontario's history. In 1903, the directors of the Western Ontario Dairymen's Association passed a resolution urging the Dominion government to appoint Ballantyne a senator and cabinet minister responsible for dairy interests. He was later offered the province's Lieutenant Governorship, but declined, feel-ing that his years forbade it. He continued his business interests as President of the British Mortgage Loan Company until his death in 1908 at the age of seventy-nine.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS BALFOUR
1895–1896

William Douglas Balfour was born in Forfarshire, Scotland on August 2, 1851, the eldest of five children. He came with his family to Canada in the decade before Confederation and settled in the town of St. Catharines, where he received a public school education. Following completion of his studies at the Grantham Academy, Balfour set out at the age of fifteen to become a teacher himself. Pedagogy must soon have lost its lure, however, and after five years, he put down the ferule for the printing plate to establish the St. Catharines daily and weekly *News* in 1872. Although he was no longer teaching, Balfour's continued interest in education drew him into local politics that year as a public school trustee. In 1874, he took up residence in Amherstburg, where he and John Auld together founded the Amherstburg *Echo*. It was here that Balfour became intensely involved in local issues. In 1878, he became reeve of Amherstburg, chairman of the county council's finance and education committees, and auditor of the criminal justice accounts.

Balfour, like many who preceded him as Speaker, found the transition from local to provincial politics more difficult than he might have anticipated. In the general election of 1879, during his first bid for a seat in the Ontario Legislature, Balfour campaigned as a Liberal in the riding of Essex South but lost badly to Conservative opponent Lewis Wigle. He may have been sobered by the experience, but he was not discouraged. When Wigle resigned his seat in the Legislature three years later to contest the upcoming federal election, Balfour again presented himself to the voters of Essex South. This time the riding swung in his favour, as it would in every election until his death in 1896. Balfour always maintained that the battle for the ballots was won or lost with the voters' lists, and it was here that he concentrated his energies, learning the lists backwards and forwards. It was a political strategy that allowed him to turn staunchly Conservative Essex South into a Liberal stronghold.

Balfour's profile as a private member was given a sudden and unexpected boost just after the Fifth Legislature opened in 1884. It had been known for some time that corrupt influences were at

work in the Legislature; the Rykert investigation ten years earlier had revealed that much.[39] But never had the allegations been as serious as those made on March 17, 1884. On that day, Balfour and a Liberal colleague in the House (the member for Wellington West) turned over to the Speaker envelopes containing large sums of money they claimed had been given to them in order to secure their vote against the Mowat government. On the instructions of the Premier, Speaker Charles Clarke opened the envelopes before the House at the start of the day's sitting and the spectacle that followed soon brought other members forward with like tales of intrigue. At Balfour's initiation, the infamous Bribery Plot and its ''brawling brood of bribers'' had been exposed before a stunned Legislature.

In the cut and thrust of parliamentary parlance, Balfour was fluent and persuasive, skills which earned him the sobriquet ''Rupert of Debate.'' When he rose to address the House, his words echoed in major newspapers throughout the country and made his name an increasing part of casual political conversation. The speech for which he was perhaps best remembered in the Legislature was his defence of Premier Mowat's redistribution bill in 1885. In 1892, he moved second reading for a bill to provide for admission of women to the study and practice of law, and two years later he introduced a second controversial bill to admit Delos R. Davis, a black man, to the Ontario bar. Balfour was also active on several committees during his career in the Legislature, including Public Accounts, Printing, Municipal Railways, and Select Committees on Toll Roads and Natural Gas.

While the provincial election of 1894 claimed many casualties among his contemporaries on the government benches, Balfour fought a vigorous campaign that saw him returned to the Legislature over which he would soon be called to preside. Oliver Mowat, who as Premier had nominated the previous four Speakers, referred to Balfour's integrity, industry and sound judgement, and went on to say that it gave him great pleasure to propose the member for Essex South as Speaker, since ''by his energy he had so impaired his health that the rest and quiet of the speakership might be expected to have a beneficial effect on him.''[40] Balfour took the Chair on February 21, 1895, but after only a year, the frenetic life he had been so used to beckoned him to leave the office and accept an

appointment as Provincial Secretary and Registrar of Ontario in the newly formed Liberal ministry of Arthur Sturgis Hardy. It was a portfolio he held only briefly. His health had been frail since childhood, and before he could leave his mark on the office, he was stricken with illness. At his wife's request, Balfour was moved back to the familiar surroundings of the Speaker's apartment, where he died on August 19, 1896, at the age of forty-five.

FRANCIS EUGENE ALFRED EVANTUREL
1897–1902

Francis Eugene Alfred Evanturel was born in Quebec City on August 31, 1846. The grandson of an officer who had served in the French army during Napoleon's Spanish campaign and the son of a prominent lawyer and politician, Evanturel seemed destined to distinguish himself among the men of his day. Educated in the classics at a Quebec seminary, he went on to study law and was called to the bar of Lower Canada shortly after Confederation.[41]

During his years as a civil servant in Ottawa,[42] he captured considerable attention with his impassioned and eloquent oratory. Although his contemporaries would say that he possessed the attributes of a statesman, Evanturel was no stranger to the world of partisan politics. His father had been Minister of Agriculture in the Macdonald-Sicotte administration before Confederation. Like his father, he, too, had placed his hopes for the country on the Conservative party.

Evanturel was to see his faith betrayed, however, over the most divisive of issues facing Ontario in the nineteenth century. Antagonism between Protestants and Catholics had been intensifying since the 1870s when the Orange Order sought incorporation under a special act, and continued to heat up through the next decade, following the Conservative *Mail*'s editorial attacks against separate and French-language schools in eastern Ontario. The latter had so enraged Evanturel that he severed his connections with the Conservative party and joined Oliver Mowat's Liberals. By appealing to "men of all creeds", Mowat had built a party in which Protestant and Catholic, English and French could work side by side – a party which tried to "conciliate the Protestant majority to French and Catholic rights."[43] Here, Evanturel found refuge for his religion and salvation for his political career.

In 1886, Evanturel won the Liberal nomination in the provincial riding of Prescott. Francophone families drawn from Quebec to the fertile farmlands of eastern Ontario during the previous two decades had transformed the Counties of Prescott and Russell into predominantly French-speaking settlements. While Meredith's Conservatives

had eagerly courted Catholic voters in 1883 with a pamphlet called *Facts for the Irish Electors*, by 1886, the spectre of French Canadian nationalism had resurrected old shibboleths: "Ontarians tended to view the migration of Francophones not as the edge of a moving agricultural frontier, but as the entering wedge of a *nationaliste* drive to take over Ontario for the French Canadians."[44] The 1886 provincial election was the first of three fought under the "No Popery" banner. Protestant extremists within the Conservative party condemned Catholic bishops for their interference in the formulation of education policy, while denouncing Oliver Mowat as their instrument.

Against this background of mounting religious tension, Evanturel claimed the first of several victories he would win in Prescott. Four years later, as Mowat and Meredith battled each other for the support of the Equal Rights Association, Evanturel was returned to the Legislative Assembly by acclamation. In 1894, the appearance of the Protestant Protective Association (PPA) –" a secret oath-bound, anti-Catholic society"[45] – added a new dimension to the religious controversy and one Mowat could not afford to ignore. By this time, however, Prescott had become a solid Reform riding and Evanturel triumphed over the PPA's appeals to sectarian prejudice, claiming over seventy percent of the vote.

In the Assembly, when Evanturel rose to speak on the issues of the day – whether in defence of French-language rights or Irish Home Rule – his powerful oratory captivated the House. Following his election as Speaker in 1897, in room of William Douglas Balfour, the Legislature was deprived of one of its most eloquent voices. The Third Session of the Eighth Legislature marked the beginning both of Arthur Sturgis Hardy's term as Premier and James Pliny Whitney's term as opposition leader. The appointment of the first French Canadian Catholic ever to preside as Speaker of the Ontario Legislature occasioned self-congratulatory comments commending members for their racial tolerance. Among these was a speech by James Robert Stratton, the Liberal member for Peterborough West, who told the House: "It is very gratifying to know in this, the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign, that in the first province of the first colony of the first empire of the world, a man's race and religion are not taken into consideration by the members of this

House, but that only ability, integrity and fitness for the position are required."[46]

When the Ninth Legislature opened on August 3, 1898, Hardy's Liberals faced the Conservative opposition forces of Whitney with a bare majority of six seats. Evanturel was nominated for a second term in the Chair. The following year, Hardy stepped down as Premier and was succeeded by George William Ross. But with Whitney's ascendancy close at hand, the Liberals faced an uphill battle of their own. Evanturel presided over the House during the closing years of Liberal rule in Ontario. During this time he drew praise not only from the members of his own party but from the opposition leader, who declared that he had never known a presiding officer who possessed so fully and completely an appreciation of his high position.[47]

Evanturel's speakership ended with the dissolution of the Ninth Legislature in 1902. Following the provincial election of that year he returned to the floor as a Liberal backbencher. In 1904, he was appointed minister without portfolio in the cabinet that Ross restructured in a last, desperate bid to hold onto power.

The day of reckoning finally came for the Liberals on January 25, 1905, when the party that had governed Ontario since 1871 fell to massive defeat. It was the most startling political upheaval in the province's history, with Whitney's Conservatives taking sixty-nine seats in the Legislature and leaving the Liberals with just twenty-nine. Five cabinet ministers suffered crushing blows. Among them was Evanturel, who after polling the same number of votes as his Conservative opponent, was defeated by the vote of the Returning Officer.

In 1907, Evanturel was appointed Second Clerk Assistant to the Senate of Canada and a year later he took on additional duties as French translator. He died at Alfred, Ontario in 1909, two years before his son, Gustave, was elected to the Legislative Assembly as the member for the riding he himself had first represented in 1886.

WILLIAM ANDREW CHARLTON
1903–1904

William Andrew Charlton was born in Cattaraugus County, New York, on May 29, 1841, the youngest son of Adam Charlton and Ann Gray. His mother died when Charlton was three years old and some years later his father moved the family to Canada, settling in Waterloo County in 1849. Their stay here lasted only six years, however, and in 1855 the family returned to the United States, this time making their home in Iowa.

Charlton was educated in both Canada and the United States. Financial pressures forced him to abandon his original hope of studying medicine, however, and after six months he dropped his studies altogether to pursue a career in commerce. He returned to Canada in 1861, joining his eldest brother John at Lynedoch in Norfolk County. Its dense forests of pine and oak had made Lynedoch a thriving lumber centre by that time and the Charltons a prominent force in the timber trade, most notably through their family – operated firms of Gray and Charlton and later Charlton and Ross.

Without the benefit of previous experience to buoy him, Charlton plunged into the current of political life. In the provincial election of 1886, he ran as a Liberal in the riding of Norfolk South, but lost to the Conservative incumbent. Four years later, he contested the seat once again and won, later only to lose it on petition. When the voters of Norfolk South finally returned him in the by-election that followed, Charlton was at last able to savour his victory. He represented that riding until 1904, sitting on the government benches during the Mowat, Hardy and Ross administrations. Throughout his career as a private member, he served on several committees, including the Select Committee on Natural Gas in 1894, and in 1898 he authored a provincial report on the Hudson Bay railway route.

The provincial election of May 1902 brought the Tories closer to the reins of power than they had been since the days of Sandfield Macdonald's coalition. Led by James Whitney, they managed to capture forty-seven seats, just four short of the Grits' total of fifty-one. Although the outcome had been close, it was not enough to

deny the Liberals their ninth successive triumph at the polls; the party that had held the province for more than thirty years crossed the threshold of a new century still in power, but with its support less certain. By the end of July, the death of one Liberal back-bencher and the unseating of two others because of alleged election irregularities had reduced the Ross government's majority to a single seat. Calls for the creation of a coalition government followed in the *Globe* in September – an idea endorsed by other observers, including the aging Reformer Goldwin Smith.[48] It was later revealed that a Liberal cabinet minister had approached Whitney with a proposition that the two parties govern jointly, only to have the Conservative leader reject it.[49] That the subject was broached at all said as much about the government's concern for the life of its administration as its rejection said about the opposition's hope of backing into office.

By January, those hopes had died, shattered by a series of Liberal by-election wins that at least put off the day of reckoning for the Ross Government. But there had also been indications of just how far the Grits were prepared to go to hold on to power. The much publicized offer of the speakership to Joseph Réaume, the Conservative member for Essex North, called to mind the troubled coalition of 1871 and Sandfield Macdonald's attempts to win over Richard Scott. Of course, once the by-elections had been won, Ross could afford to put a Liberal in the Chair without fear of obliterating his government's majority in the House. As chairman of the Committee of the Whole House in the previous Legislature, Charlton's familiarity with the procedural rules of the House had been noted. Just as importantly, however, his years of experience on the government backbenches had given him a keen understanding of the mood of the assembly over which he would now preside.

Charlton took his place in the Chair on March 10, 1903. The days that followed would be trying ones for the new Speaker. What had begun as routine debate of the throne speech ended suddenly as Robert Roswell Gamey, the Conservative member for Manitoulin who had just defected to the Liberal benches, revealed that his support had been bought by a Liberal cabinet minister. The Gamey Affair was political theatre at its best. With the House thrown into frenzy as charges and counter-charges were hurled about the chamber, Charlton faced the first real test of his authority as Speaker.

Rising from the Chair, he took two steps forward on the dais and silenced the House without uttering so much as a single word. It was a stern and effective rebuke.

The Ross government had teetered on the brink of defeat since its beginnings; the Gamey Affair now took it dangerously close to the edge. Before facing the voters in the provincial election of 1905, Ross shuffled his cabinet, a reorganization which took Charlton out of the Chair to make him the province's fifth Public Works Commissioner. By this time, however, the government was beyond salvation. In the election that followed, Whitney's Conservatives captured two-thirds of the province's ninety-eight seats. Five Liberal cabinet ministers were defeated in their own ridings, and Charlton, after just months in his new portfolio, was among them.

Following the 1905 debacle, Charlton withdrew from active politics for a time. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1911, as the member for Norfolk, seven years after his brother, John, had departed his long held seat in the federal riding of Norfolk North. Although he had always been a Liberal, Charlton ran as a Unionist in the federal election of 1917, believing, as he did, that the war effort required a common front of cooperation. Four years later, after being made a Privy Councillor, he retired from political life to devote more time to his philanthropic interests. He died on November 9, 1930, at the age of eighty-nine.
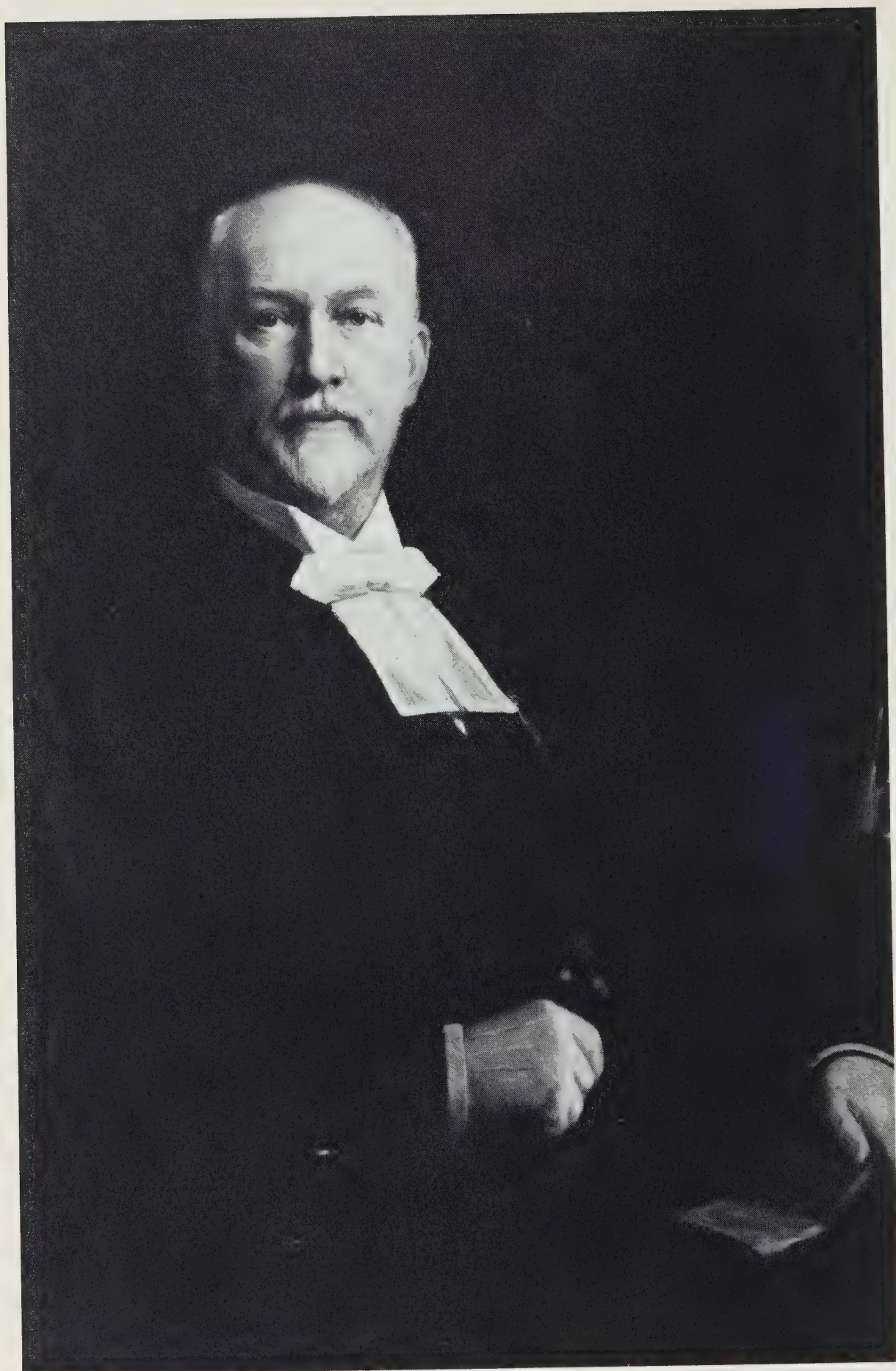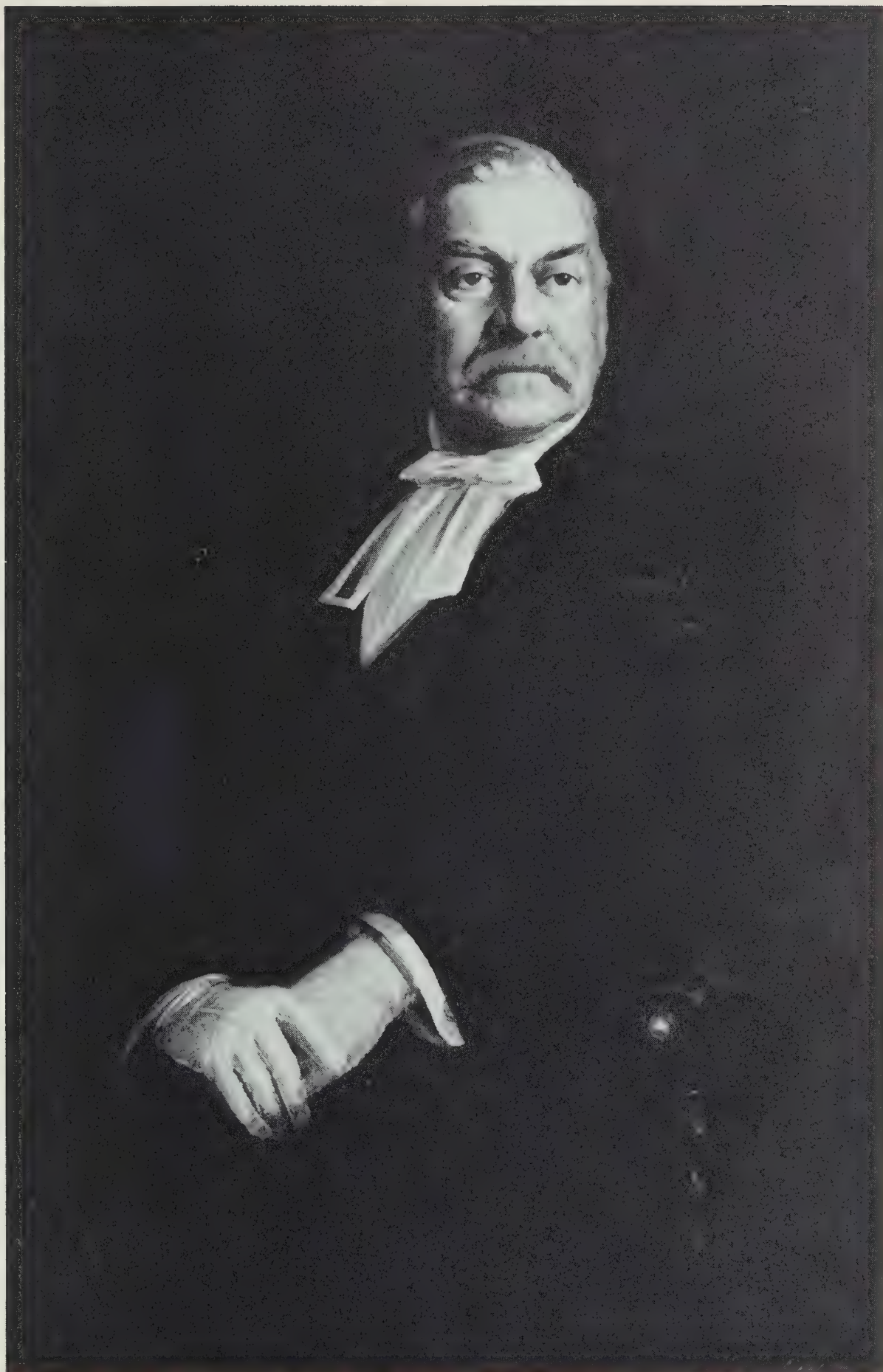
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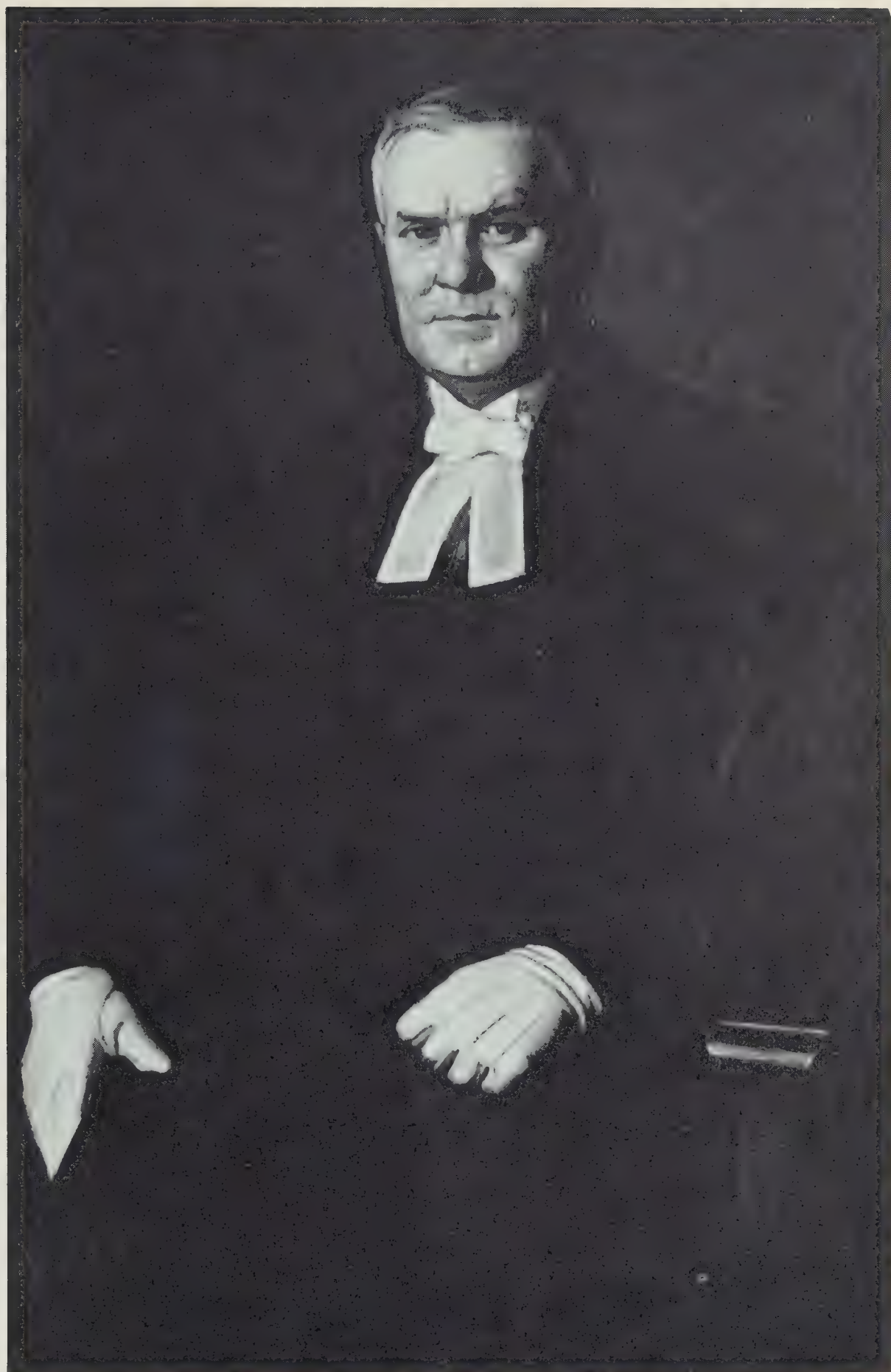1905-1907

Thomas Crawford
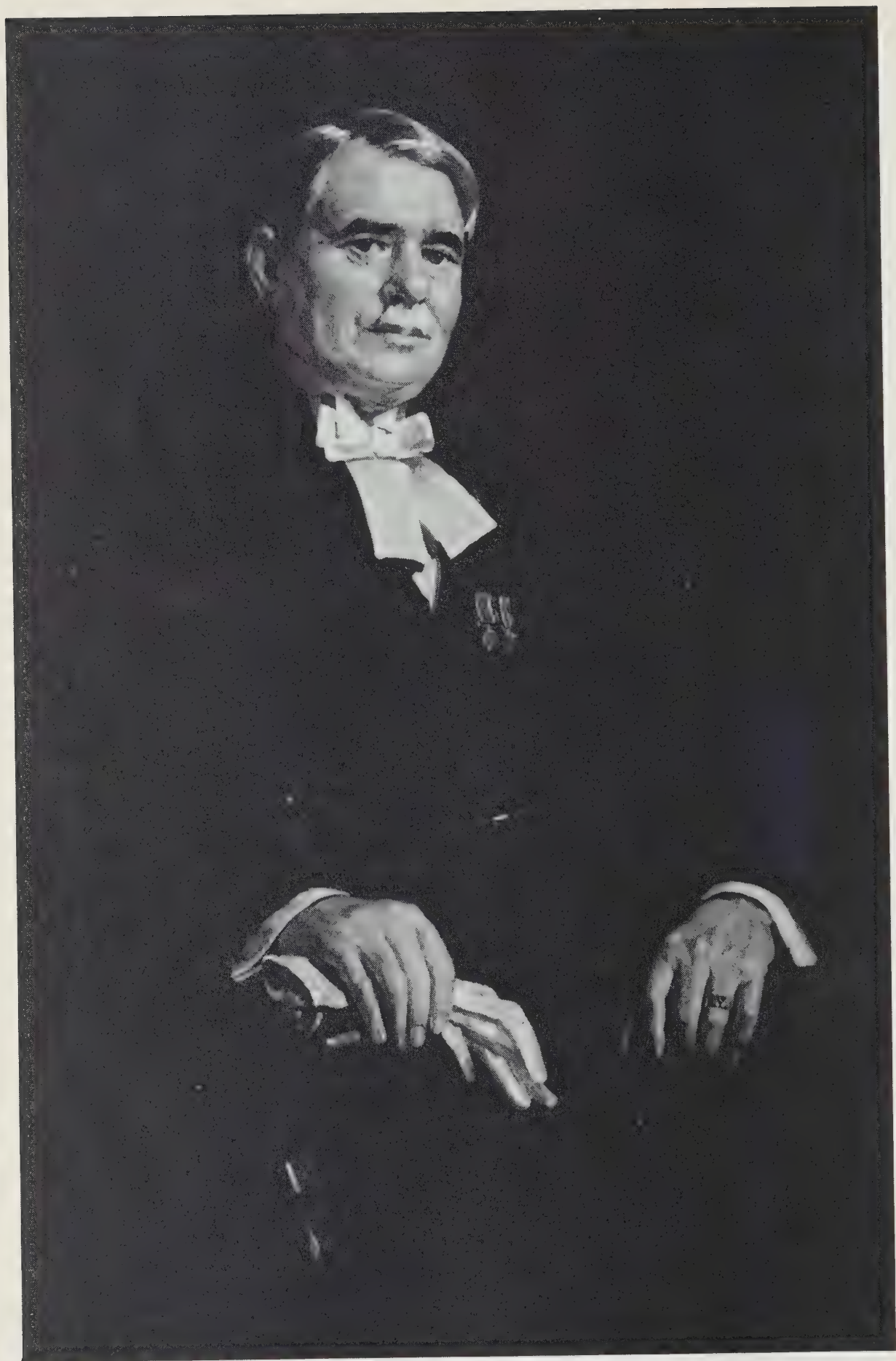1907-1911

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William Henry Hoyle
1912-1914

David Jamieson
1915-1919

Nelson Parliament
1920-1923

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Joseph Elijah Thompson
1924-1926

50
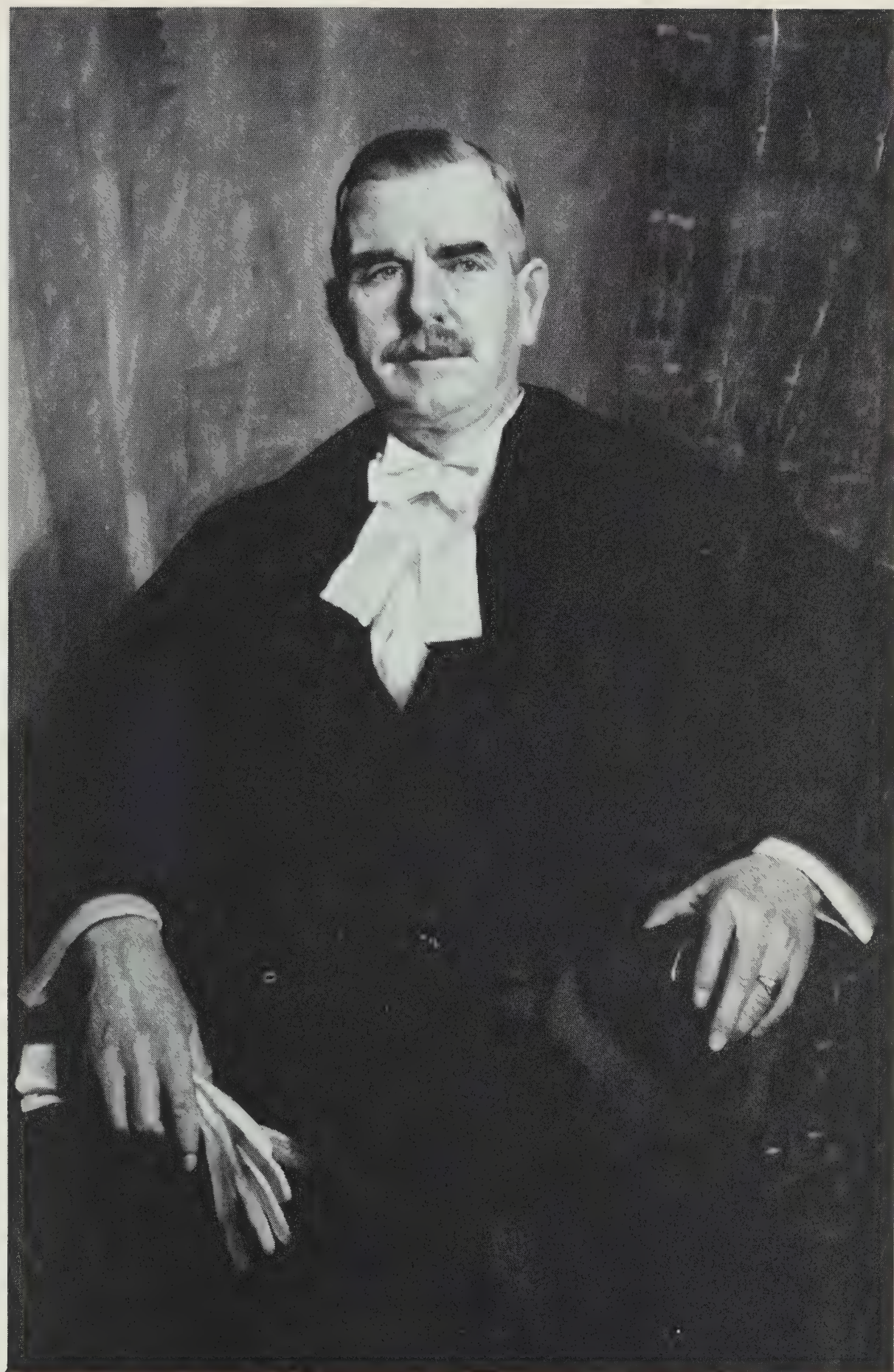
William David Black
1927-1929

Thomas Ashmore Kidd
1930-1934

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Norman Otto Hipel
1935-1938

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James Howard Clark
1939-1943

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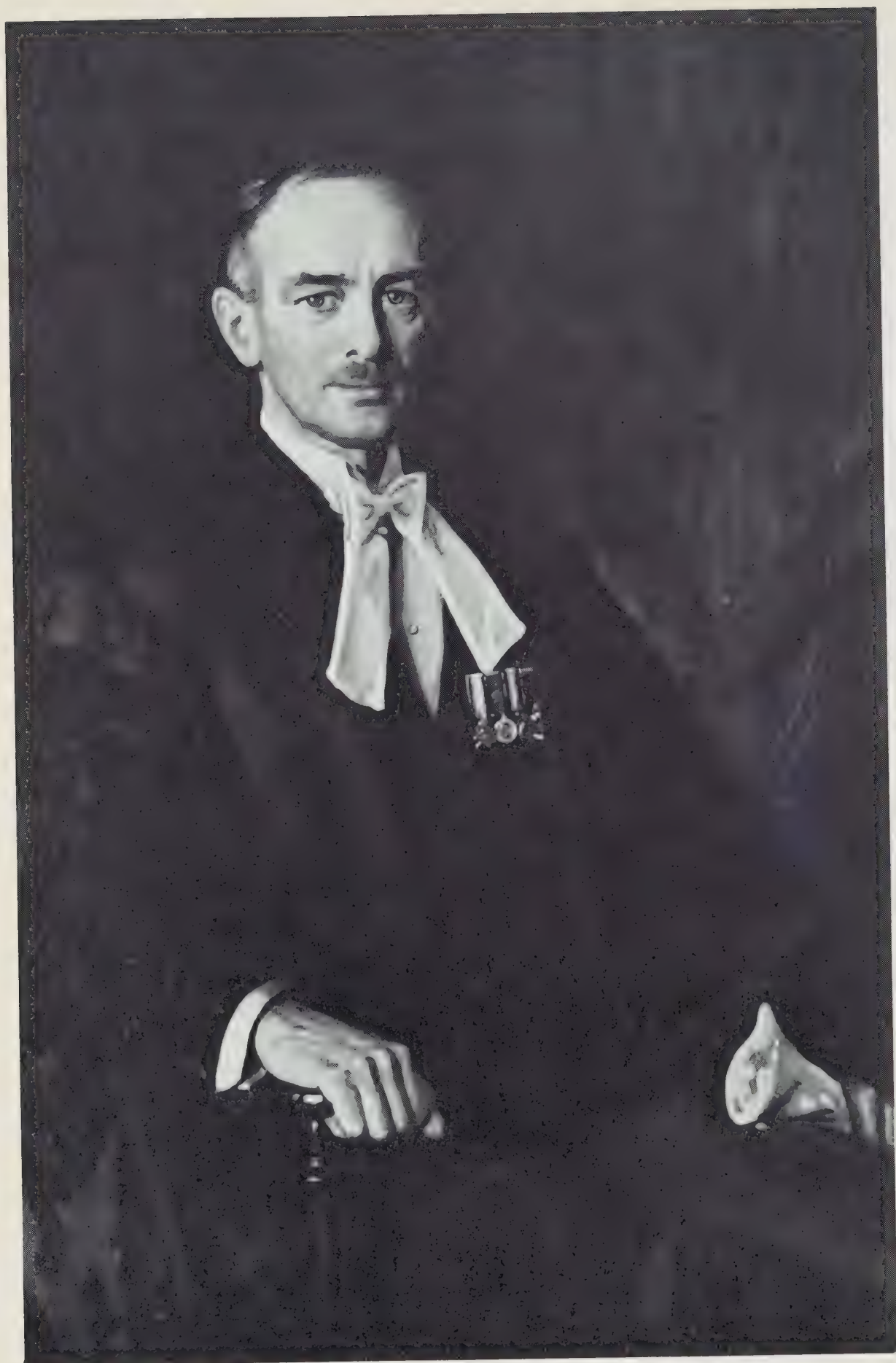
JOSEPH WESLEY ST. JOHN
1905–1907

Joseph Wesley St. John was born near Sunderland, Ontario on July 17, 1854. After attending public schools in Brock Township, he went on to Victoria University where, with his powerful frame and full, whisker-fringed face, he is said to have won the hearts of many young women. Stories of his athletic prowess filled the pages of *Acta Victoriana*, the student newspaper. His imposing physical presence was matched by a list of formidable academic achievements. In 1881, St. John graduated with a bachelor of arts degree and the Wilson Memorial Prize in astronomy. Later that year, he took up the study of law with the distinguished firm of Blake, Lash and Cassels, and, in 1884, he entered practice with the firm of Cameron, Caswell and St. John.

As a Conservative, St. John's politics distinguished him immediately from his predecessors in the Chair. He was a Tory at a time when ideological commitment to the Conservative party exiled the faithful to a life on the opposition benches. St. John first captured the provincial riding of York West in 1894. The next four years would see the major players on the political stage change and with them, the electoral fortunes of the parties they led. Shortly after the 1894 campaign, leadership of the Conservative party passed from William Meredith to George Frederick Marter. Next came Oliver Mowat's retirement from provincial politics in 1896, and, with it, the legacy of Liberal rule was handed to Arthur Sturgis Hardy. The same year, the Tories chose yet another leader in James Pliny Whitney, who, despite his rather ordinary demeanour, was now poised to bring about the most extraordinary electoral turnaround since Confederation.

By 1898, the winds of political fortune had begun to change for the Liberals. Tired and battle-scarred, an aging Hardy had little strength left to rescue a party mired in patronage and corruption and tied to a sinking base of support in rural Ontario. The Grits did manage to salvage the election of that year, however, and although it was with a much reduced majority of only six seats, the victory was still enough to give the province its eighth successive Liberal government. While his own party had made significant gains

in the 1898 campaign, St. John was defeated in York West. Four years later, when he emerged again to fight the election of 1902, he returned to a party that had broadened its support, tightened its organization, and attracted a corps of candidates who could win. It was a party more sure of itself and, for the Liberals and their new leader, George W. Ross, a force to be reckoned with.

As the Gamey Affair came to light in 1903, the sins of a party too long in power spattered scandal over the Ross Liberals. Almost overnight, Robert Roswell Gamey, a little-known Conservative backbencher from Manitoulin, gained notoriety throughout the province, first for his defection to the government benches and then for the startling revelation that his support had been gained by a Liberal cabinet minister, J.R. Stratton, in return for financial reward and patronage privileges. In the days ahead, the now infamous Gamey Affair swept aside all other business. It fell to St. John to play out his party's rage over the government's handling of the charges. From the start of his political career, he had proven himself a most able and persuasive debater. This time was no exception. A packed House provided the stage for his eloquent oratory as he denounced the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the charges as a ''side-tracking of truth.'' After wringing from the Provincial Secretary – the minister most implicated in the scandal – the admission that he had tendered his resignation to the Premier, he then turned his attack on the Premier for his refusal to accept the resignation and declared that he and his entire government were responsible as charged. That view found no support among the commissioners, however, who reported on June 4 that Gamey had been found guilty of ''systematic duplicity'' and that ''the corrupt charges'' against Stratton had been ''disproved''.[50]

The Gamey Affair passed into history, although not forgotten by the Tories. As the 1905 election drew near, J.J. Foy, the Catholic Conservative from Toronto, could be found preaching that it was time to deliver the province from ''the hands of grafters, heelers, rake-off men, thimble-riggers, robbers and thieves.''[51] In York West, St. John told his constituents that ''there was an awful crisis upon the province, and that it was of the greatest importance to have in the fight men of clean hands and clean hearts.''[52] The Liberals went into the election claiming ''a magnificent record of business administration,''[53] but in the end, Whitney's relentless

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pounding of his well-worn themes – corruption, patronage and prohibition – seemed the more powerful message. On January 25, Ontario ended thirty-three years of Liberal rule by giving Whitney's party a full two-thirds of the Legislature's ninety-eight seats and the province its first Conservative government since Confederation.

When the new Legislature met on March 22, 1905, it chose Joseph Wesley St. John as its Speaker, the first Conservative ever to hold the office. Whitney described the new Speaker as "a man greatly beloved and respected, who would worthily maintain the privileges of the members of the House."[54] Once in the Chair, St. John immediately distinguished himself from his predecessors, at first on the more ceremonial of the Speaker's duties and soon afterwards on the more substantive matters of debate. In learning the prayers and reciting them at the start of each day's sitting, he differed from others before him who had simply read the opening prayers. He set another precedent of sorts by being the first Speaker who refused to serve spirits at his official dinners: "Being a total abstainer from drinks and tobacco," he once told *Acta Victoriana*, "I intend to follow out the same through life from principle, believing that a man cannot attain to the true standard of manhood by their use."[55] On the juridical aspects of his job, St. John was thorough, prompt in his rulings, and a master of the Legislature's procedural rules. His death on April 7, 1907 struck the House a severe blow. He was the first Speaker to die in office and his death evoked sincere eulogies from the members of the House. The Premier proclaimed that "He made an admirable presiding officer and personally deserved, as he received, the respect of all who knew him."[56] Opposition leader Graham voiced a similar sentiment: "As Speaker of the Legislature he was competent, considerate and scrupulously fair. Only since becoming Speaker did all the members of the Legislature really understand the big heart and kindly nature of the man."[57]

THOMAS CRAWFORD
1907–1911

Born in County Fermanagh, Ireland in 1847, Thomas Crawford was eighteen when he and his family moved to Canada and settled on the northern shores of Lake Ontario in Toronto. Crawford soon found employment in the work shops of the Northern Railway Company. Four years later, at the age of twenty-one, he joined his father, James, as a cattle merchant. The western cattle market was at one time one of Toronto's most valuable commercial concerns and Thomas Crawford was among the first to do business there. A year of apprenticeship under the experienced eye of his father gave him an introduction to the livestock trade which would serve as a base for his own enterprise as one of the largest commission merchants in the province. Recognized as a major force in the industry, T. Crawford & Company was a principal exporter of cattle to the United States and Britain.

Though respected as a shrewd businessman, Crawford was also highly regarded for his fairness and compassion, known as he was, throughout the community as "honest Tom". He sat as an alderman on Toronto Council from 1892 to 1894, his strong voice heard often on the civic affairs of the day and his name mentioned frequently in connection with the mayoralty. Whether by fate or his own design Crawford was somehow waylayed on that well-worn path and found himself running instead for a seat in the provincial Legislature as the Conservative candidate for Toronto West.

From 1894 to 1905, he sat on the opposition benches in the Legislature. Over the next three decades, his constituency changed twice through redistribution: first to Toronto West Seat A and then to Toronto Northwest Seat A. Throughout his political career Crawford did more than just weather the electoral storms – he poured defeat on his political adversaries. In 1902, he was returned to the Legislature with the largest majority of any candidate in the province. In debate, he distinguished himself as the champion of agricultural interests and spoke out in favour of extending the franchise to women. In 1903, he served as a member of the Select Committee on Municipal Trading. During this time, Crawford saw his party transformed as

it passed from the frequently tenuous leadership of Meredith and Marter to the more forceful stewardship of Whitney.

When the Conservative party finally broke the Liberal stranglehold on the province with the election of 1905, Crawford's was among the largest victories. It was understandable, then, that his name would be mentioned frequently in connection with a new Conservative cabinet. Destiny had another direction in mind, however. Two years after the Eleventh Legislature opened, the unexpected death of its presiding officer, Joseph Wesley St. John, resulted in Crawford's move to the Speaker's Chair instead of to the Cabinet room. Crawford presided over the Legislature for the remainder of that term. When the election of 1908 returned the Whitney government with another convincing majority, he was re-elected as Speaker for the life of the Twelfth Legislature, an assembly composed of lawyers, merchants, physicians, farmers, newspapermen and others of sundry occupation.

Crawford retired from the Chair at the close of that Legislature. Following the general election of 1911, he returned to the floor as a government backbencher. A long time Orangeman, he was among his party's most vocal opponents of French language education and an ardent supporter of Irish Home Rule. In 1914, Ontario returned the Conservative government of James P. Whitney for a fourth term, perhaps more deeply entrenched now than the Liberals under Oliver Mowat had ever been. But over the next decade, chinks in the Conservative armour would begin to show. Whitney's death soon after the June election resulted in the succession of William Howard Hearst as party leader and Premier. Hearst would steer a steady course through the turbulent war years, and his government, cognizant too of peacetime concerns, would pass significant legislation implementing prohibition and granting the franchise to women. But on the eve of the 1919 election, as Hearst prepared to face the voters for the first time, these two landmark decisions conspired to ensure his government's defeat. Conservatives in the province were decimated. The United Farmers of Ontario, which had made political hay out of Hearst's mishandling of several issues, swept into power. Although Crawford managed to salvage his own seat, many of his contemporaries on the Conservative benches were not as fortunate.

The Twenties, roaring in with high hopes and a new mood of optimism, was not, however, a good time for politicians "speaking for the farms, preaching their old moralities to the blaring age of jazz."[58] After four years of farmer government, Ontario placed its hopes for the future on a man who seemed to symbolize these times, George Howard Ferguson. In 1923, Ferguson, leader of the Conservative party since Hearst's retirement, became Premier and named Crawford a minister without portfolio. It was a post he held only briefly, however. The following year he resigned both his cabinet position and his seat in the Legislature to become registrar of deeds for the City of Toronto. He died on February 9, 1932 at the age of eighty-four.

WILLIAM HENRY HOYLE
1912–1914

The son of a local customs officer, William Henry Hoyle was born in the port town of Barnstaple in Devonshire, England on August 28, 1842. After attending school at St. Peter's and St. Paul's Institute in Barnstaple, Hoyle left his native Devonshire for Canada, eventually settling in the village of Cannington. While many Englishmen chose to put down their roots in Cannington, few were as honoured for their contribution as Hoyle, whose accomplishments touched all facets of community life. Shortly after his arrival, Hoyle became prominent in the local business establishment as a cabinet maker, upholsterer and manufacturer of undertakers' furnishings – a calling that would continue to engage him over the next thirty-five years. But the successful businessman was also a major force in parish activities, and in 1871 he helped found All Saints' Anglican Church, later serving as one of its first sidesmen and giving much of his time to its Sunday School. Active too in fraternal organizations, he was involved in the International Order of Oddfellows as a charter member of the Peaceful Dove Lodge and grandmaster of the Benevolent Society.

Locally, Hoyle first became active in politics as a school trustee and secretary treasurer of the school board and then as reeve of Cannington in 1895 and 1896. His interest in public affairs transcended his immediate surroundings, however. He was the first of Cannington's residents to subscribe to a daily newspaper, thereby making himself something of a celebrity among his fellow businessmen, who would gather every morning at the town pump to hear Hoyle transmit the latest news from far and near. It was this interest in the larger scheme of things that prompted Hoyle to broaden his political involvement to the provincial arena. He was first elected to the Legislature as the Conservative member for Ontario North in 1898 by snatching that riding from Liberal incumbent Thomas Chapple. Over the next two decades, he held the seat without interruption. In debate he was as strong a friend of Ontario's North as he was a foe of its neighbour to the south. His views on other matters of current interest were expressed with equal certainty and voiced without apology. For example, he voted against the referendum on prohibition in 1902, maintaining that ''it violated

every principle of the British constitution"[59] and he steadfastly opposed granting the franchise to women.

With a year left in its mandate and no compelling issues looming on the political horizon, the Conservative administration of James Whitney went to the people on December 11, 1911. At dissolution, the government held eighty-five of the province's 106 seats and its record over the life of the Legislature just ended read like an epic catalogue of accomplishments. Few doubted the outcome. The Liberal party, still smarting from the blow it took at the polls in the recent federal election and facing the added problem of changing leaders midway through the provincial campaign, was too listless to mount an effective resistance.

The new Legislature opened on February 7, 1912, with the Conservatives holding a near four-to-one majority in the house. "By half past two," one Toronto daily wrote, "galleries and floor were crowded. Gaily clad women were in the majority, for even if they have nothing to say in the election of the House, they play an important part in its opening. Under the bright lights they formed a brilliant ensemble. . .No flowers or other decorations were needed."[60] With suitable ceremony and hearty expressions of approval from the floor, William Henry Hoyle was chosen as the Legislature's thirteenth Speaker. Like the election that had just reaffirmed his party as the government, Hoyle's appointment to the Chair elicited little surprise. Years earlier, when the Tories finally emerged in 1905 from their long somnolent state to form the first Conservative government since Confederation, Hoyle, like St. John and Crawford, was considered among the party's brightest stars. It was Whitney himself who described his new Speaker as "a man who had written his name in large letters on the statute books of the province."[61]

The start of the Thirteenth Legislature also marked the initiation of N.W. Rowell as the new Liberal leader and, with it, a period marked by bitter exchanges between the Premier and Opposition leader. As one inveighed against the other, Hoyle was kept busy as a referee between the two benches. The Premier may have tired of these interventions by the Speaker, however: once, after a particularly difficult episode, Whitney advised him that the less atten-

tion he paid to certain questions of the opposition the better he would maintain the dignity of his high office.[62]

Hoyle held the speakership until dissolution of the Legislature and returned to the floor as a private member following the provincial election of 1914, when the voters of Ontario North gave him a large majority over John Widdifield, the United Farmers of Ontario candidate in the riding. He remained active in the Legislature until his death on October 27, 1918.

DAVID JAMIESON
1915–1919

Ontario's fourteenth Speaker was born in Wellington County on February 3, 1856, the son of Scottish immigrants who had come to Canada from Aberdeen only a few years earlier. Raised in Puslinch Township, David Jamieson attended local public schools before going on to study medicine at the University of Toronto, from which he graduated in 1878. He set up his medical practice in Durham, Ontario – a town founded by another Scotsman, who had settled there in the 1840s. Here the affable doctor was something of a pioneer, trekking about on horseback and later by horse and buggy, fitting eye glasses, doing dental and veterinary work, and even writing out wills for his patients. Jamieson practised medicine among the people of Durham until the 1920s, but his efforts in bringing needed medical services to the town did not end there. He was later associated with the Red Cross Memorial Hospital which, established in Durham after the First World War, was built through the persistence of individuals like Jamieson's wife, Isabella Bradshaw. Jamieson chaired its board of directors until his death in 1942.

Though a compassionate healer, Jamieson was also an astute businessman and a leading figure in bringing industrial prosperity to the town. Large-scale furniture manufacturing, which was the mainstay of the Durham economy, began with the establishment of Jamieson's Durham Furniture Company in 1899. Located on the Rocky Saugeen River, it was the first business establishment in the province to generate its own electrical power.

With a seat on county council – first as alderman in 1883 and 1884 and then as reeve of Durham in the two years following – Jamieson began his political career at the local level. After an unsuccessful bid for a seat in the House of Commons, he set his sights on the provincial riding of Grey South, which he won handily in the general election of 1898. If his years on the Conservative backbenches seemed to show little of the drama that was the hallmark of the politician's craft, this fact perhaps more than any other commended Jamieson as Speaker. By now, the long-standing tradition of the British House of Commons in choosing a presiding officer

from among that "solid backbone" of its membership who were less colourful and not so inclined to provoke controversy, was beginning to influence the selection of a Speaker in Ontario.

Ontario's Fourteenth Legislature opened on February 16, 1915 with the new Premier, William Howard Hearst, placing before the House his nomination for the Chair. Hearst spoke about the historic role of the speakership in Parliament and expressed confidence that in David Jamieson the House had found a Speaker who would uphold the best traditions of the office.[63] It was a choice unanimously applauded from the floor. Jamieson became the second physician to preside over the Assembly since its beginning. With his long years of parliamentary experience to guide him, he held the promise to be as good a Speaker as any who had come before him.

Although by most accounts this was a promise that Jamieson lived up to, his return to the Chair in the next Legislature would ultimately hinge on the will of his constituents in Grey South. In 1914, they had given him a majority of one thousand votes over his Liberal opponent. But in 1919, the growing frustration of farmers and labour with the old-line political parties and their old-time ways was too powerful for the Conservatives to contain. That year, the United Farmers of Ontario, still without a leader and not yet a formally recognized political party, ploughed Hearst's Conservative government into the ground. The farmers had Jamieson's hide in Tory Grey South; across the province, only twenty-five Conservative members out of seventy-eight survived the slaughter.

From its beginnings, the government of E.C. Drury, perched precariously on the tenuous support of Labour, resembled more a brief interlude of third-party government than it did the harbinger of a new political order. In the end, Drury seemed less than equal to the task he had set for himself. Howard Ferguson, the Tory backbencher who had won his spurs in the Whitney years and had gone on to become Hearst's political lieutenant before the 1919 debacle, stepped in to repair the splits in a deeply divided Conservative party. The 1923 campaign was for Ferguson a masterstroke. After taking seventy-five seats in the election across the province, he could declare quite confidently that "the reign of terror was over." Ferguson, a member of "the old gang" had restored the old political regime and laid the groundwork for a Tory dynasty. Jamieson

resumed his seat in the House to chair the Agricultural Enquiry Committee in 1924 and its subcommittee, formed a year later. He was appointed minister without portfolio in the shuffled Ferguson cabinet just prior to the 1926 election. The promotion, long in coming, would prove to be as short-lived.

Jamieson was defeated in that election by Farquhar Oliver, then a member of the United Farmers and a future leader of the Ontario Liberal party. He was the only cabinet minister to forfeit his seat, but the Premier lost little time in rewarding him for all his years of service to the party by appointing him chairman of the Mother's Allowance Commission. Following passage of the Old Age Pensions Act in 1929, Jamieson was named chairman of the commission administering the Act. He held both posts concurrently until his retirement in 1935. He died on September 17, 1942, at the age of eighty-six. Physician, businessman, politician: Jamieson's contribution to the life of his province had been a most significant one.

NELSON PARLIAMENT
1920–1923

Nelson Parliament was born on March 11, 1877, nearly a full decade after the birth of the nation his ancestors had long called home. Family reminiscences passed down through the generations tell the story of Parliament's great, great grandfather, a staunch loyalist twice imprisoned at Goshen and Poughkeepsie during the Revolutionary War. Raised as a Methodist in Ameliasburgh, Ontario, Parliament was educated at Albert College in Belleville and later took up farming in Prince Edward County. He seems to have had little taste of civic involvement before being drawn into politics in his forties, and thus stands apart from other Speakers before him. Unusual circumstances brought Parliament to the Speaker's Chair in 1920, but when he stepped down three years later, he left to his successors an office that had gained measurably in respect and dignity.

Ameliasburgh has sent many of its sons to the legislative corridors of Ottawa and Queen's Park. In 1914, Nelson Parliament joined this distinguished group as the newly elected Liberal member for the provincial riding of Prince Edward. Though his voice was rarely heard in the House during those first few years, when he rose to his feet it was to speak about what was closest to his heart: agricultural life and the preservation of rural values.

Class and sectional unrest among farmers had been growing since the defeat of reciprocity in 1911. Farmers saw in the protective tariff the source of every ill, from the high cost of living to political corruption; in conscription, the evil that threatened the very survival of rural life; and in the old-line political parties, the origin of both policies. By the end of World War One, the agrarian protest movement had set the stage for independent political action among farmers. Within a year, the United Farmers of Ontario had smashed the traditional pattern of political allegiances in the province, taking enough seats in the 1919 election to make it the largest party in the Legislature and, with labour support, its leader, E.C. Drury, the new Premier of Ontario.

For the farmer-politican Drury, governing Ontario would be a difficult proposition. With few experienced members in his caucus

and not a single lawyer among his fifty-five supporters in the Legislature, even the routine task of choosing a presiding officer would prove troublesome. The speakership had always fallen within the gift of the governing party, but the farmers were among the last to expect that they would be the governing party in 1919. It was just one of many tight spots in which Drury would find himself. His dilemma was real, but he was determined not to make undue concessions. He looked for a balance: someone wise in the affairs of the House while sympathetic to his government's vision. Prince Edward was a rural riding; Parliament himself a farmer. And although a Liberal, he had joined the United Farmers of Ontario in its infancy as an agrarian protest group. His reputation in the House had been as a voice for agriculture. At his party's last convention prior to the 1919 election, he had once again demonstrated this commitment by moving a resolution recognizing the important position occupied by the province's agricultural industry.

Parliament's initial response to Drury's offer of the speakership was cautious, as he made his acceptance conditional upon the support of his constituents in Prince Edward. It was clear, however, that he felt that his political convictions would not be compromised by accepting the nomination. Hartley Dewart was one Liberal who did not share that view, however. There had never been any love lost between Dewart and Drury, but the Liberal leader was particularly bitter over what he saw as a blatant manipulation by Drury to reduce his party's voting strength in the House. There was even speculation in the press that Dewart might block the nomination, although it never amounted to anything beyond political bravado.

Ontario's Fifteenth Legislature opened on March 9, 1920 with a new government inexperienced in the ways of both parliament and power and with the added novelty of three official parties. Day after day in the House, Tories and Grits delighted in tormenting the farmers on the government benches; they goaded, heckled and laughed at them, all the while playing to public galleries filled with spectators who had come to catch a glimpse of the best show in town. The performances of Howard Ferguson and his Liberal understudy Hartley Dewart added to the spectacle. Raucous behaviour assaulted the civility of the Legislature and the Speaker was kept occupied ruling on the use of unparliamentary language. On one occasion he was appealed to for a decision on the acceptability in

debate of such phrases as "sidestepping and pussyfooting". He ruled that while they were not blacklisted expressions, they did not meet with his approval. Ferguson had, of course, toned down his own language in the Legislature, saving the more colourful epithets for other forums and waiting until he was outside the House to describe the government members as "intellectual and political freaks who. . .grew out of the garbage."[64]

The duties of the office place a heavy burden on the Chair. While no other member has the Speaker's authority, prestige and influence, neither is any ordinary member expected to maintain order and decorum at all times while guarding the privileges of all members and the rights of minorities in the House. While the accoutrements of office – the Mace, and the ceremonial robes – and the almost mystic ritual command authority for even the weakest of Speakers, the respect and admiration the House felt for Nelson Parliament were as much for the man himself as for his position. As Speaker, Parliament proved worthy of the highest respect. The fact that his political allegiances were not with the governing party in no way diminished the regard Drury had for him. There is little doubt that he could have served the House equally well in the next Legislature had he not lost his seat in the 1923 election. From the Legislature, Parliament went to the backrooms as an organizer for the Liberal party. Some years later he moved to Indiana to pursue business interests with a nephew. He died there on May 17, 1967, at the age of ninety.

JOSEPH ELIJAH THOMPSON
1924–1926

He was born Joseph Elijah Thompson on July 19, 1867, but to the scores of people he counted among his friends, he was always just plain ''Joe''. Thompson grew up in Toronto's Old Cabbagetown, named for its backyard harvests of leafy cabbages, and known for its hardy people. Educated at Lord Dufferin Public School and Jarvis Collegiate, he was hired at the age of seventeen as a junior clerk in a dry goods store. Always looking for something a little more challenging than life in a haberdasher's shop, he moved on to the City's Treasury department four years later. He would stay nearly twenty years in the same position before his considerable talents would be rewarded with an appointment in 1907 as the City's Commissioner of Industry and Publicity. His critics clucked, ''What does Joe Thompson know about industry and publicity?'', but soon found the answer throughout the city in the flock of conventions, new factories and expanding businesses which soon came to Toronto. Following a string of successes, including the campaign that brought hydro-electric service to the city, he retired from the office to establish his own business as an insurance broker.

There was something about Joe Thompson that drew people to him – the intangible, elusive quality of leadership. Someone close to him once said that Thompson had ''the qualities that a man's fellows recognize instinctively.'' Political life intrigued him, and in 1915 he was elected as a city controller. He had barely had a chance to get into his job when, in the following year, he left for overseas as a captain in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces. After serving with the allied army of occupation in Germany, he was discharged in 1919 and returned to Toronto to resume his business activities and his political career. In that year, Thompson campaigned as the Conservative candidate in the riding of Toronto Northeast Seat B, managing to escape the tendrils of farmers and labour with a scant forty percent of the vote.

Reduced to a shadow with just twenty-five seats when the new Legislature opened on March 9, 1920 the Conservative party's three years in opposition started out badly. As party whip Thompson chaired the convention that elected Howard Ferguson as Hearst's

successor in 1920. For Ferguson these had been trying times. Fuelled by a toxic mix of fury and fear, Drury and his followers had pursued Ferguson relentlessly in the months since the 1919 election: first with the commission of inquiry into the Kapuskasing Farm Colony, then with their attempts to unseat him for corrupt electoral practices, and finally, with the Timber Commission, which Drury hoped would prove once and for all the rottenness of Ferguson's politics. Just after the massive Tory defeat in 1919, the press had dubbed Howard Ferguson "the mainspring of the remaining Conservative forces",[65] but his behaviour had since been characterized by others as a "permanent monument to political corruption".[66] Even some members of his own caucus had begun to think that perhaps it was time for Ferguson, who had been acting Conservative leader since the election, to step down for the good of the party.[67] As delegates assembled for the convention in Toronto, the timber investigation continued to receive front page coverage. In the end, Ferguson's political savvy and enormous personal following within the party pulled him through the crisis. Sceptics in the group who found fault with his conduct were hard pressed to find a more able man to lead them through the times ahead.

Against the flamboyance of Ferguson, Thompson's political style was sedate. Ferguson's wit was biting, full of hyperbole; Thompson's pleas were reasoned, thoughtful. Although the two were the closest of friends, their goals in life differed. Thompson once confided that his greatest ambition was "to sit at the side of the road and be a friend to man."[68] In the House, Ferguson stung Drury and his other opponents with invective while Thompson pursued his objectives more quietly. By the end of his first term in the Legislature, Thompson's impassioned pleas for the creation of a ministry of public welfare and his concern over the rehabilitation of criminals had revealed him to be a man of compassion.

Thompson was returned to the Legislature in 1923, in the first of the Ferguson landslides, with an astounding seventy-eight percent of the vote. From the beginning, as the new Premier set about fashioning his administration, there was little doubt that Joe Thompson would be his choice as Speaker. Other members may have served longer than Thompson, but none was held in higher esteem on either side of the House. Once in the Chair, Thompson was decisive and scrupulously fair. If his rulings often occasioned smiles of

satisfaction on the opposition benches, they were just as likely to catch the Premier grimacing under the weight of an iron hand that, for once, was not his own.

Thompson retired from the speakership following dissolution in 1926 and was returned to the Legislature as the member for St. David. After serving as chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, he retired in 1929 with an appointment as registrar of the surrogate court in Toronto. In 1934, when the Liberals reclaimed Ontario, Thompson, like the province's civil servants, the surplus bee keepers, and the Tories' fleet of cars, became a casualty of Mitch Hepburn's war against Conservative symbols. Hepburn came to office promising to "rip out deadwood, political appointees, hangers, on"[69] but according to a close friend of the former Speaker, it was Joe Thompson's heart that was torn. Friends said he held no malice and that he tried to get on with his life by returning to his business. He campaigned as an aldermanic candidate in 1939, but was unable to capture the imagination of a new generation who did not know the old Joe Thompson. He died in Toronto on March 16, 1941.

WILLIAM DAVID BLACK
1927–1929

The son of a Scotsman who had settled in Canada in the early 1850s, William David Black was born in Dundas County on October 17, 1867. When he was seventeen, Black left the family farm where he had grown up to make his way as a trackman for the Canadian Pacific Railway. After a decade, with the romance of his railway days behind him and an uncharted course ahead, he left the CPR for the rough timber lands of northern Frontenac and more prosperous times as a general merchant in the village of Parham. The fruits of his labours must have been sweet. With extensive real estate and timber holdings as his future security, Black, by the time he was thirty-eight, could contemplate retiring to a life of ease in the village he had made his home.

William David Black was not the kind of man who took good fortune for granted. Returning as much to his community as it gave to him was a hallmark of Black's life. As secretary-treasurer of the Agricultural Society, director of the Canadian Fair Association, and auditor of the school board, Black demonstrated the sense of civic duty that would carry him through his political career.

In 1911, Black won the provincial seat of Addington by acclamation. It was his first foray into provincial politics, but for the farmer's son from Parham it was only the beginning. Addington was tough Tory territory. It had sent Edmund Hooper to the First Legislature in 1867 and had been a fortress of party strength, impenetrable to the Liberals since 1884. Now, with Black standing sentinel, it would stay a Conservative stronghold over the next three decades. Election after election, Black was returned to the Assembly, three times by acclamation, and twice with majorities over seventy percent.

In 1919, as Ontario's political allegiances were immolated to the fiery Drury, Addington remained loyally Conservative. Black, whose rural roots were planted deep and spread wide in the soil of Parham, felt a certain kinship with the farmers. In fact, so strong was Black's support among the farmers in Addington that the UFO could not field a single candidate to challenge him in the riding. Back in the

Legislature, his work on behalf of agriculture continued. In 1921 and 1922 he chaired the Special Committee of Inquiry into the Province's Fruit and Apple Interests and he also served on the Agricultural Inquiry Committee and its subcommittee from 1924 to 1926.

By the time he was elected Speaker in 1927, Black had served Addington on the Tory backbenches for sixteen years. He had seen the brightest days of Conservatism under Whitney and its last gleaming under Hearst. He was a party stalwart with a vast repertoire of parliamentary knowledge. Howard Ferguson captured the feeling of the Legislature when he described Black as a "model guardian of the liberties of this House."[70] In the days and weeks ahead, his choice of Black as Speaker would prove to serve the Premier well. The 1926 election was the second the Conservatives won with Ferguson as leader; "booze or bankruptcy" was the battle cry. Ontario had already spoken on this most vexing of political issues in a plebiscite two years earlier, when the province voted to stay dry by a slim majority of thirty-five thousand. But now Ferguson was convinced that the masses were thirsty and the prospect of controlled liquor traffic as a way of enriching the provincial treasury was a political wind too strong to resist. When the new Legislature opened on February 2, 1927 the Premier introduced a bill establishing the Liquor Control Board of Ontario. From the outset, Ferguson's position had been that "dry" members not be allowed to turn discussion of his legislation into a debate over prohibition.[71] As Speaker, Black's ruling that the members restrict themselves to the merits of the bill presented to the House helped the Premier to keep a tight control over the liquor bill debate.[72]

Despatched to the government backbenches after the 1929 election, Black approached the task with his customary vigour, serving as chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and the Ontario Game Resources Commission during the Eighteenth Legislature. During that time, the party's leadership passed from Howard Ferguson to George S. Henry. Nineteen thirty-four would take Black and his party across the floor of the House once again to sit in opposition, following a serious defeat suffered at the hands of Mitch Hepburn. Two years later, William Earl Rowe, a former Conservative cabinet minister in the defeated government of R.B. Bennett, stepped into provincial politics to fill Henry's shoes as leader of a disillusioned

and dishevelled party. Addington returned Black to the Legislature in 1937, although, with little more than fifty percent of the vote, his support had greatly diminished over the years. It was his last political campaign. During the next few years, his health became uncertain and in 1943 he retired from public life. A member of the Assembly since 1911, Black had proven himself to be a sturdy figure in an often difficult calling. He died in 1944, although not before the party that had been so much a part of his life had been returned to power.

THOMAS ASHMORE KIDD
1930–1934

Thomas Ashmore Kidd was born in Burritt's Rapids, Ontario on May 1, 1889. The tiny village, built on the banks of the Rideau River and boastful of its loyalist beginnings, had been the childhood home of his father, who later acquired the original general store and the flour mill founded by one of the village's first settlers. Thomas grew up in Carlow Lodge, the family home named for his mother's birthplace in Carlow County, Ireland, and attended school in Burritt's Rapids and in nearby Kemptville. A veteran of World War One, ardent imperialist and staunch Orangeman, Thomas Kidd was the embodiment of old Ontario values.

In 1914, a country awash in patriotic fervor prepared to send its sons to fight in the trenches of Europe. Flushed with the sense of pride that spirit engendered, Kidd lost little time enlisting for service. He had already received his commission in 1910 with the 56th Grenville Lisgar Regiment and was sent overseas with the first Canadian contingent in August, 1914. He was at Ypres when the Germans hit his unit in the first gas attack of the war, and, like countless others there, was badly wounded. Kidd returned home to Kingston, a hero decorated for bravery with a volunteer officer's medal.

Toughened by the experience, he was now ready to do battle on the political front. After four years as an alderman for the City of Kingston, the last spent as president of the Finance Committee in 1925, he took a run at provincial office. Kidd, like most other Conservatives by this time, had nothing but praise for Howard Ferguson. Like many other Conservatives, however, he had not always felt that way. The Kidds of Burritt's Rapids had been among the most influential of Tory families in the riding of Grenville, but when Howard Ferguson fought for the party's nomination there in 1908, they had backed another Tory instead. By the mid-Twenties, however, Ontario's image of Howard Ferguson had changed: the "crude swaggering Ferguson of Timber Scandal notoriety"[73] had become the "politician's politician and the people's choice."[74] Critics who had damned him in 1920 as the party's ruination now heralded him as its saviour.

On the eve of the 1926 election, W.F. Nickle's resignation as Attorney General opened up the Tory nomination in Kingston for Kidd. The result of differences over Ferguson's handling of the liquor issue, Nickle's resignation occasioned a split within the party that left the former cabinet minister the self-styled leader of a ''dry'' coalition. Nickle ran in Kingston as an Independent in 1926, but it was Kidd who took the riding. Once in the Legislature, Kidd came to be known as a loyal Conservative wheel-horse. Yet, despite his strong partisan nature, he played the game with clean hands and was noted for his sense of fair play.

When the Eighteenth Legislature opened on February 5, 1930, Thomas Ashmore Kidd was chosen its Speaker. Shortly after taking the Chair, he was presented with a gavel made from a beam of the first Parliament buildings in Kingston – a gift from an old ally and newer adversary, W.F. Nickle. It was a symbolic gesture, of course: A Speaker might quell a disturbance with a reproving glance or defuse a tense moment with a touch of humour, but he would never need a gavel to enforce the authority of his high office. After 1929, that authority was strengthened considerably, the result of a revision of the rules governing parliamentary procedure.[75] Among the most significant of these for Kidd and his successors was an addition to the Standing Orders that in all cases not provided for in the rules, the question would be decided by the Speaker on the basis of the usage and precedents of the Legislature. With that change, the Ontario Legislature had come of age; previously, the rules, usages and forms of the British House of Commons were to guide the Speaker in such situations. In addition, the Speaker was now empowered to ''name'' any member who persisted in speaking after being requested to take his seat, thus incorporating in the Standing Orders a provision already existing in the Canadian House of Commons.

In 1930, Howard Ferguson stepped down as Premier and party leader. Although, three years earlier, he had announced his intention to retire when he was sixty, he could not have chosen a more propitious time. The Ferguson years had been good ones for the party and the province. Now, as the booming Twenties turned into the dirty Thirties, the Conservative party turned its hopes to a new leader and Premier, George S. Henry. Ontario, however, had begun to turn its attention to another man. In 1934, Mitch Hepburn's

promise of "a new deal in this province"[76] resulted in a Liberal landslide that swept the Conservatives out of power and into opposition. It had been known before dissolution that a new Speaker would be chosen regardless of the outcome of the election and Kidd had stepped down from the Chair at the end of the session.

With his Conservative colleagues falling everywhere, Kidd was re-elected in 1934 and again in 1937, after which the party's new leader, Earl Rowe, made him chief whip. He resigned his seat in the Legislature in 1940 to contest the federal election held that year, but was unable to mount a successful challenge to Liberal Norman Rogers, the popular Minister of National Defence. Five years later, after the war in Europe had ended, Kidd ran once again and was elected as Kingston's member in the House of Commons. He held the seat until 1949, when he was defeated in the first clash between George Drew, former Premier of Ontario now leader of the Conservative party in Ottawa, and Louis St. Laurent. When his political career ended there, Kidd moved back to Kingston to resume his business activities. He died there on December 19, 1973.

NORMAN OTTO HIPEL
1935–1938

Norman Otto Hipel was born near Preston, Ontario on March 21,
1890. With a reverence for hard work inculcated in him at an early
age, he left school in Breslau at the age of thirteen and moved to
Berlin, Ontario, where he took a position as clerk in a dry goods
store. As it turned out, however, there was little to keep him there.
In three years he would be back in Breslau once again, learning
the carpentry trade from the skilled hand of his father in preparation
for the day he would establish his own business as a building
contractor. That day finally came when he was twenty-one. Long
before Hipel the politician was making headlines across the prov-
ince, Hipel the businessman was making a name for himself work-
ing long and hard as a lumber merchant and fuel retailer. In later
years, his unique skills as a builder would put arenas bearing his
name in Gravenhurst, Waterloo, Blind River and other centres
across the province.

Hipel carried considerable clout in the town of Preston because of
his involvement in local politics. His rapid rise from alderman to
mayor before he was thirty-five was nothing if not predictable. For
both offices he was the only candidate in the running and the
outcome was as certain as any other one-man race. It would not
always be that way, however. In 1930, when Hipel gambled his
political future on a by-election in Waterloo South, the odds seemed
to be stacked against him. Since 1905, when the Liberals had last
been in power, the party had lost eight provincial elections and had
thrown aside seven leaders, as the rural-urban-religious coalition
built by Mowat crumbled under his successors. The Grit decline
continued through the last decade as the twenty-nine seats they held
at its start shrank to a paltry thirteen. The Liberal party had become,
in the words of one close observer, "not much more than a rural
Protestant splinter group, narrowly based on a dozen predominantly
dry ridings, its policies bankrupt, its leadership pathetically weak."[77]
Such was the state of Ontario Liberalism when Hipel declared his
candidacy for the by-election in Waterloo South. The riding had
been dominated for several years by a politician who routinely
changed his party allegiance in each of three previous elections,
but its constituents had not returned a Liberal to Queen's Park since

1894. His party's falling fortunes notwithstanding, Hipel surprised strategists with his close win in Waterloo South. His victory foretold the changes to come: joining Hipel on the campaign stumps had been Mitchell Hepburn, the new prophet of Ontario Liberals.

On June 19, 1934, Tory Ontario turned around, turning out one massive majority government only to elect another in its place. From the cramped kitchen of the Masonic Temple in St. Thomas, a jubilant Hepburn declared: "Elgin is mine; now for the province."[78] "The boy from Yarmouth" had slain the Conservative giant. With his fiery oratory he had roused the rage of the depression years and turned it against the government. A defeated George Henry, now speaking from the opposition benches, prophecied, "We are in for interesting times."[79] And interesting times they were. The eight-year-old who had blown up his schoolroom stove with firecrackers and who had left high school after being accused of throwing an apple at Sir Adam Beck's hat was now Premier of Ontario.

On February 20, 1935, the province's Nineteenth Legislature opened to the blaze of cannon and the Royal Canadian Dragoons. Hepburn came to a Legislature that had been reduced for the sake of economy from one hundred and twelve to ninety members. With the Liberals holding more than two-thirds of these seats and his government securely in place, the new Premier exercised his prerogative in naming a Speaker. As an opposition backbencher for four years, Hipel had been known as a fastidious observer of detail. As Speaker for the next four years, however, he would find Hepburn had little patience for procedural niceties. From the start of the "thunder, lightning and waterpower" session in 1934, Hepburn ran the Legislature very much according to his own rules, at times suspending established procedure with a staccato outburst or an exasperated wave of the hand. When he disagreed with a ruling from the Chair, he never hesitated to challenge the Speaker. In a particularly tense moment, Hipel once ruled the Premier out of order for using the word "brazen" in an exchange with the Opposition leader. Hepburn appealed the ruling to the House and, in an unprecedented vote, the House sustained Hepburn against its own Speaker.[80] These differences aside, Hepburn nominated Hipel for a second term in the Chair following the party's win in the provincial election of 1937.

Unlike Britain, where it is customary for the Speaker to retire from political life once he has left the speakership, it has not been uncommon in Ontario for the office to be used as a stepping stone to the cabinet. Scott and Balfour had both moved from the Chair to the cabinet. In 1938, Hipel would follow in their steps, resigning as Speaker to accept Hepburn's offer of the Labour portfolio. It was just the first of several cabinet posts he would hold in the Hepburn/Conant/Nixon administrations over the next five years. In 1940, he was named Minister of Public Welfare and a year later he assumed the sensitive portfolio of Lands and Forests, a post he held until the Liberal defeat in 1943.

The province spared few Liberals on election day in 1943. At the zenith of his political career, Hipel fell to defeat in his own riding. In the years ahead, he would work behind the scenes as a party organizer, but his days as a politician were numbered. After an unsuccessful bid for the party leadership in 1950, Hipel retired to the life of a gentleman farmer. He died suddenly in 1953, at the age of sixty-two.

JAMES HOWARD CLARK
1939–1943

Born on May 11, 1888, James Howard Clark grew up in Ingersoll, Ontario. The untimely death of his father when Clark was a boy inured him to family responsibility at an early age. Strong-willed and disciplined, however, he never lost sight of the goals he had set for himself – a determination which took him to Osgoode Hall and the study of law. Shortly after enlisting with the 96th Lake Superior Battalion in 1914, he received his commission and later saw action with the machine gun corps at the Somme. He fought at Vimy, Passchendaele, Canal du Nord and the Valenciennes engagements, rising to the rank of major before Currie's march into Mons on Armistice Day. His experiences in surviving the minefields of war would prove helpful in steering a safe course through the verbal assaults of legislative debate!

Returning to Canada shortly after the war, Clark was called to the Ontario bar in 1920 and entered practice with the Windsor law firm of F.D. Davis. Over the years he would become a luminary among the country's criminal lawyers; with his canny mind and sharp wit, his charges to the jury played like well-scripted drama. He distinguished himself also in civil litigation. In 1930, he travelled to England, where he successfully argued a case before the Privy Council, then the highest tribunal in the British Empire. Though he could be serious when the situation demanded, there was also a more frivolous side to Clark's character, which revealed itself, for example, on the occasion that he found himself in court defending his two Great Danes on a charge of being unlawfully at large.

As if by osmosis, the passage from law to politics has often been a natural one. However, despite Clark's considerable skills, he did not make the transition with ease. In 1929, he made his first bid for elected office as a Liberal in the provincial riding of Windsor West. As the Tories took another massive majority under Howard Ferguson, the Grits barely held the thirteen seats they had had before dissolution. Even Clark's reputation was no match for his Conservative opponent, who won Windsor West with little effort.

It would take a political upheaval to shake the Tories' hold on the province.

That upheaval came in 1934. As Liberals claimed their Tory casualties in ridings across Ontario, Clark claimed his own win in Windsor-Sandwich, the riding he would represent at Queen's Park for the next nine years. During his first term in the Legislature, Clark attracted attention as chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. In debate, his gunner's aim took him straight to the point. If that meant that he would openly criticize his own party for fattening its coffers with contributions from corporate donors, he would say what he had to say and let the political chips fall where they may. He could be conspicuously nonpartisan in his politics, and it was not at all unusual for him to chastise Conservatives and Liberals in the same breath.

In 1938, Norman Hipel's appointment to the cabinet left the House without a Speaker. In his place, Clark took the Chair in what would become the longest-sitting Legislature in the province's history. A politician as outspoken in his views as Clark may have preferred to participate in debate rather than preside over it. A politician as shrewd in his ways as Hepburn probably understood that fact and saw the speakership as a way of quieting the member for Windsor-Sandwich. As the Premier would soon see, however, it would take even more to silence the new Speaker. During his term in the Chair, Clark took the unusual action of availing himself of the privilege of participating in debate and chaired a committee on collective bargaining.

Clark's political destiny was tied to the Liberal party from the start. At the moment Hepburn assumed its leadership in 1930, the party became synonymous with the man; the victories of 1934 and 1937 were Hepburn's victories. When he suddenly retired as Premier in 1942, the painful reminders of that fact were everywhere. Hepburn chose as his successor Gordon Conant, the fifty-two year old Attorney General, but Conant had little support in the cabinet or the caucus. Hepburn had held the party together by dominating it. With his departure, the party and the government fragmented into disparate factions: "Hepburn Liberals, Nixon Liberals, McQuesten Liberals, and King Liberals, plus Farquhar Oliver in a stage of political

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metamorphosis, and nary a Conant Liberal in sight unless as an unidentified sub-species.''[81]

The leadership passed to Harry Nixon before the 1943 election, but by this time the split in party ranks was too deep to mend. The spectre of that summer campaign of 1943 would haunt Ontario Liberals for years to come. With only fifteen seats in the new Legislature, the party's traditional status as the Official Opposition had been taken by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. For Clark, whose seat was just one of fifty wrested from the Grits, it marked the end of a brief interlude in Ontario politics that had taken him from political obscurity to the Speaker's Chair and back again. He returned to private life and his law practice. Clark died in 1952 at the age of sixty-four.
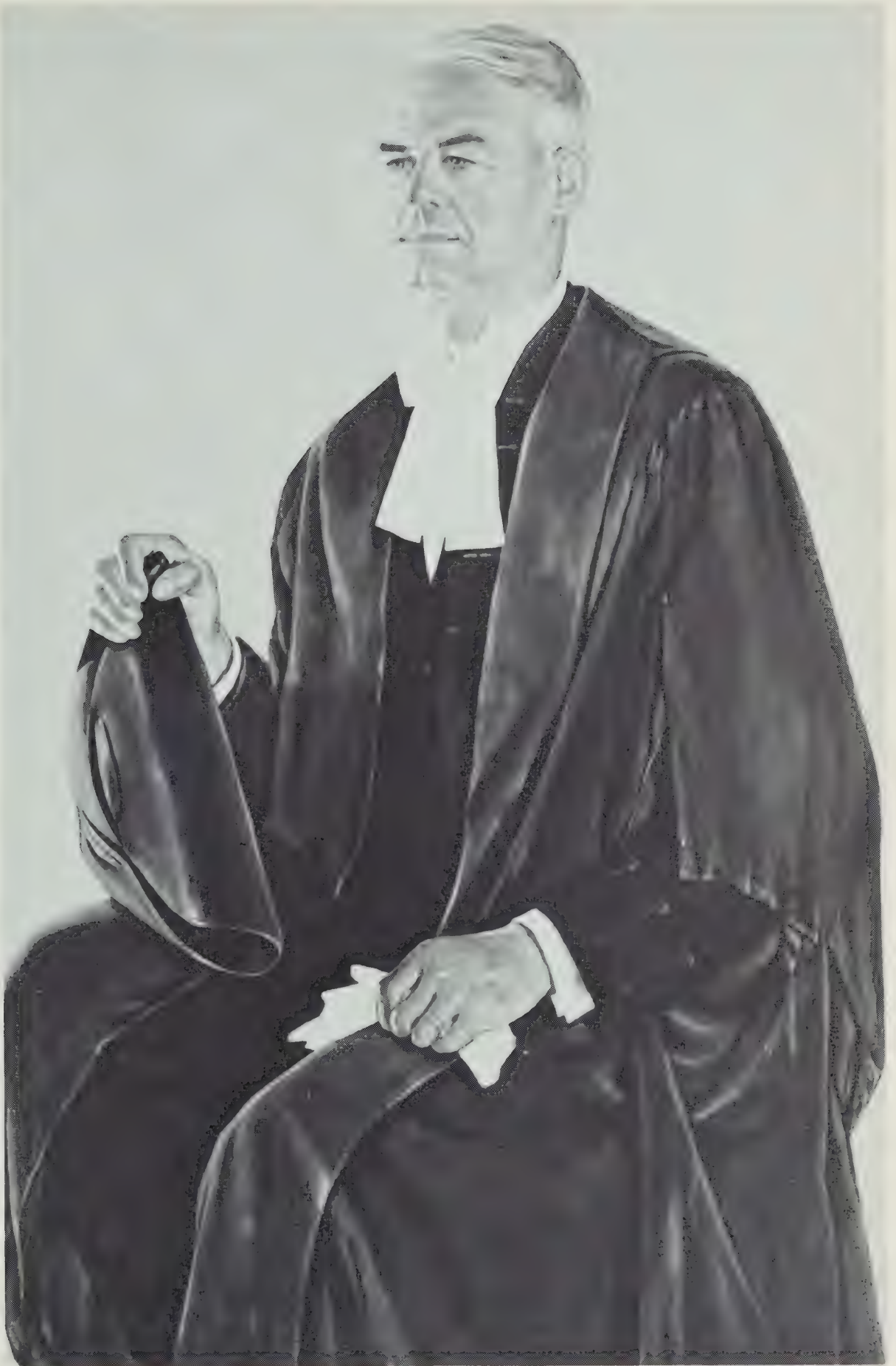
William James Stewart
1944-1947
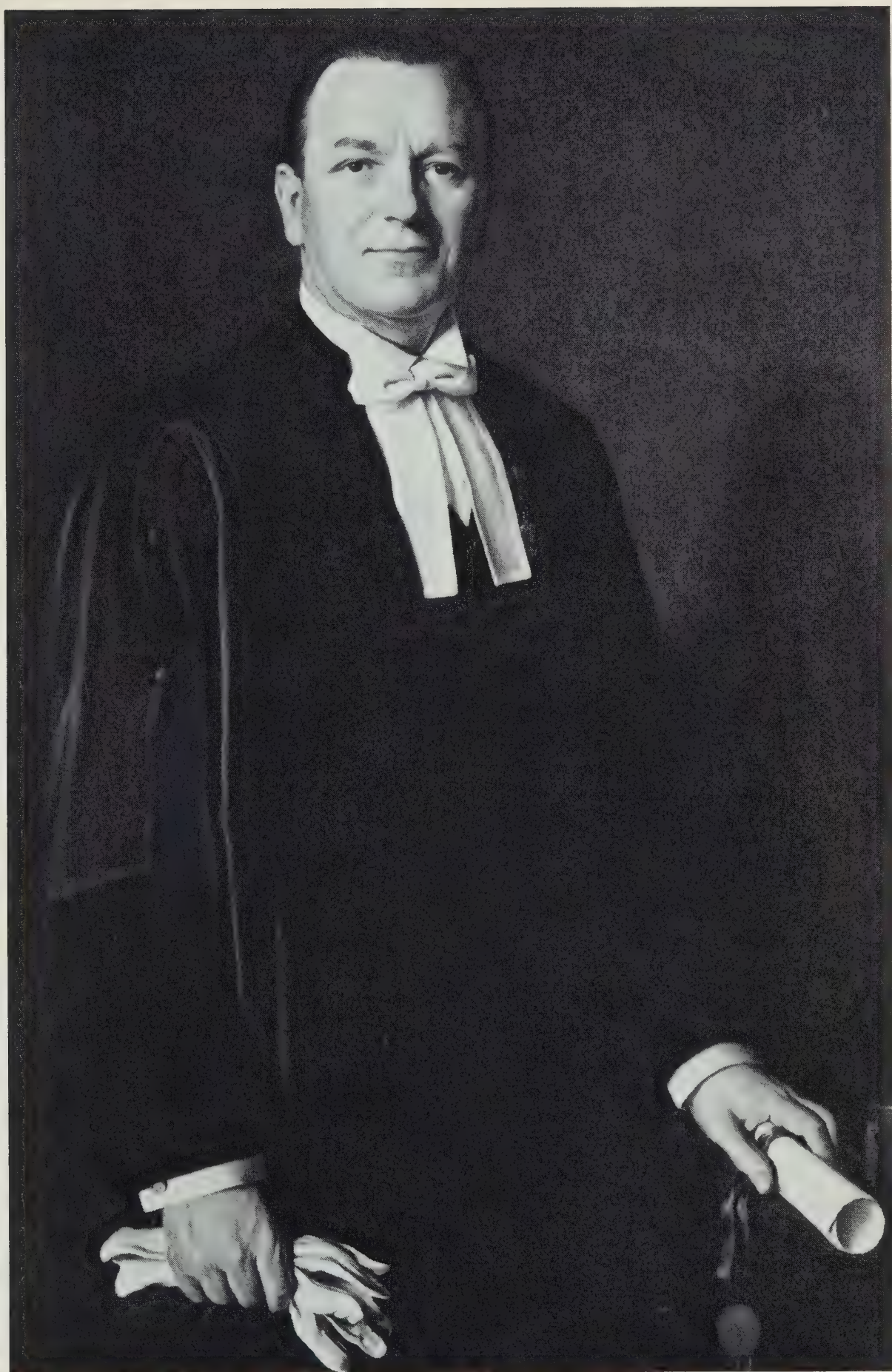
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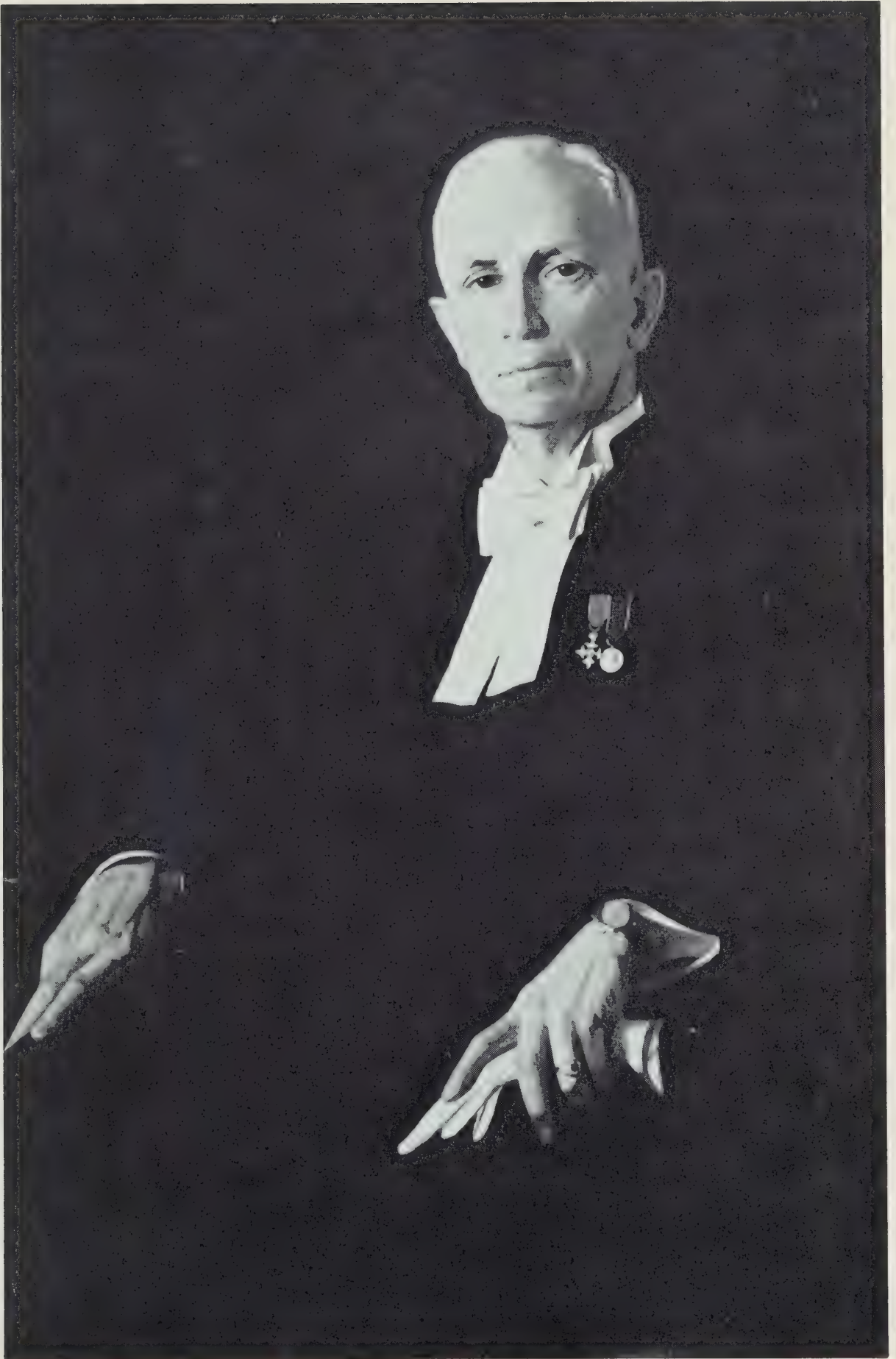
James de Congalton Hepburn
1947-1948

Myroyn ''Cooke'' Davies
1949-1955

87

Alfred Wallace Downer
1955-1959

William Murdoch
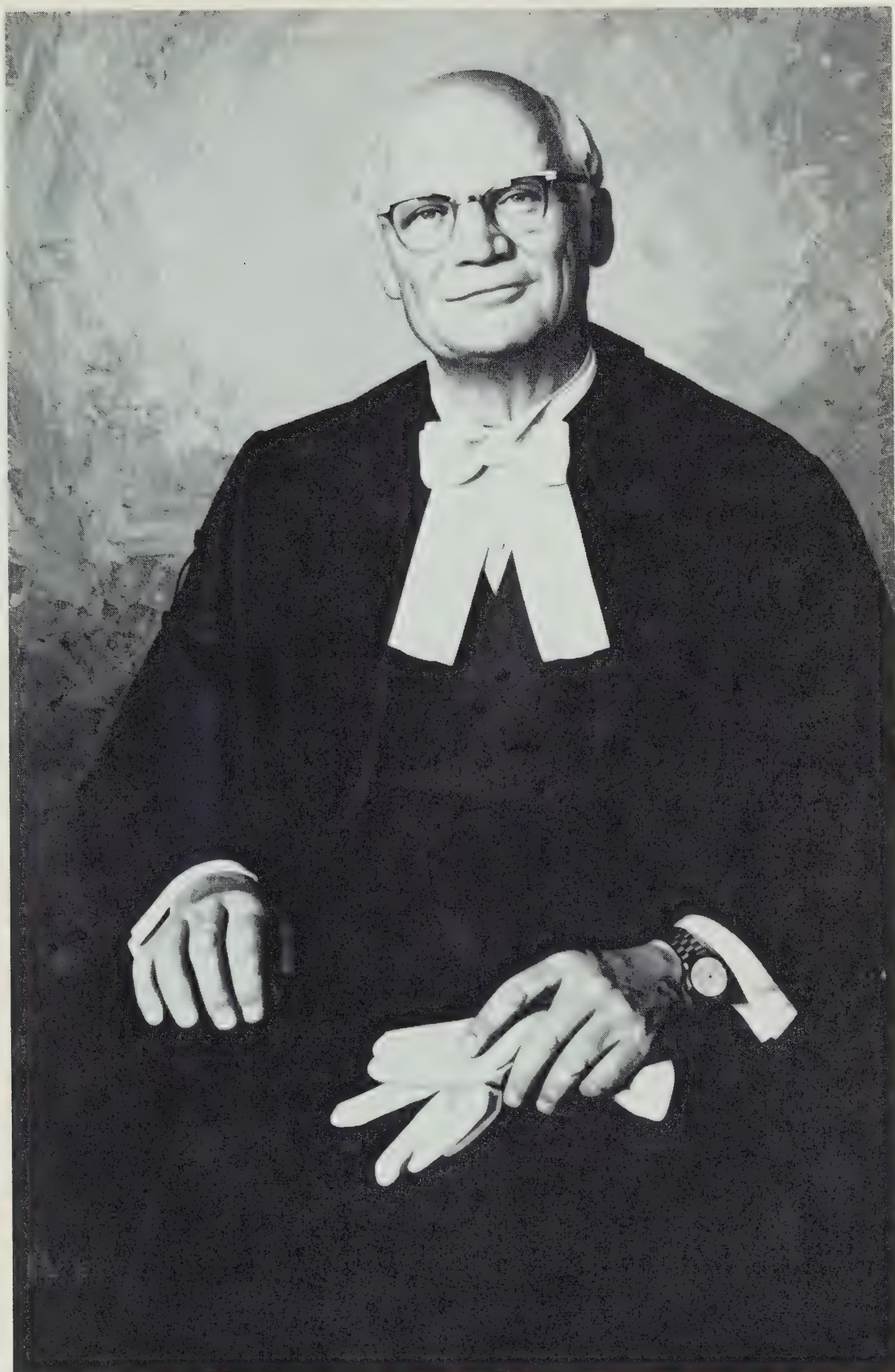1960-1963

Donald Hugo Morrow
1963-1967

90

Frederick McIntosh Cass
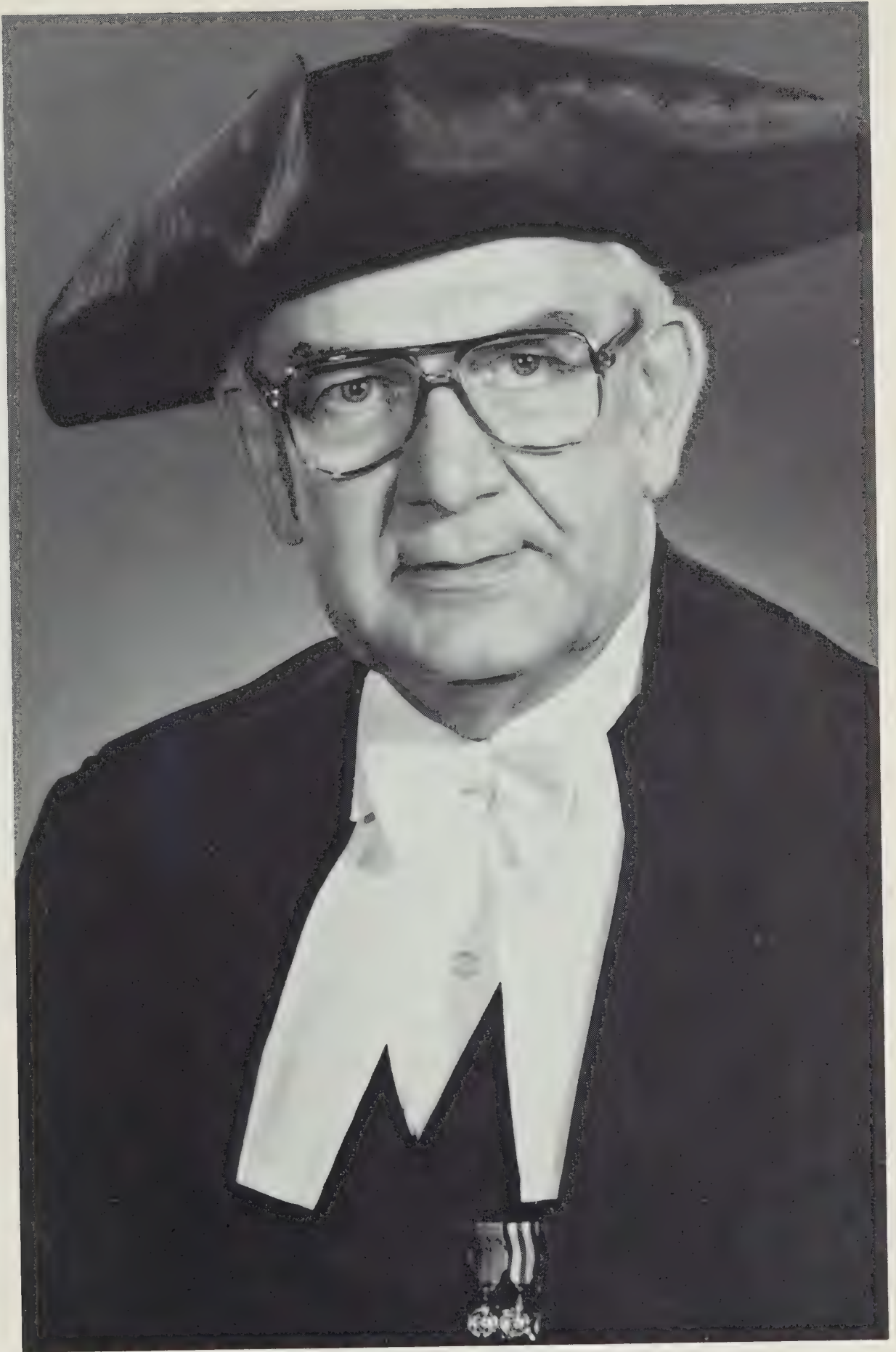1968-1971

91

Allan Edward Reuter
1971-1974

92

Russell Daniel Rowe
1974-1977

John Edward ''Jack'' Stokes
1977-1981

John Melville Turner
1981-

WILLIAM JAMES STEWART
1944–1947

The son of Albert Duncan Stewart and Sarah Maria Hughes, William James Stewart was born on February 13, 1889. He was the third Speaker since Confederation to be born in Toronto and, like Currie and Thompson before him, always had a special place in his heart for the city and its people. Although an undertaker by profession, he was a colourful character with an often impetuous temperament, something of an enigma even to those who knew him well.

Stewart burst onto Toronto's political scene in the Twenties. An alderman in 1924, he captured the mayoralty less than seven years later, dominating city politics for a decade. He brought to municipal administration a businessman's perspective that viewed the city as a corporation and its people as its principal shareholders. His insistence that the public should be consulted on all questions of major importance was characteristic of this approach as was the program of regular Sunday morning radio broadcasts he originated as a way of promoting public awareness of the issues of the day. It was an approach that met with considerable success. Re-elected as mayor three times, once by acclamation and twice by record majorities, he held onto the office during the depths of the Depression, through four years of breadlines and despair. Stewart would be remembered as a politician for the people, as much for his contributions to the Citizenship Friendship League and the Man-a-Block Campaign as for his no-nonsense administrative style. He retired as mayor in 1935 following the City's centennial and the celebrations that brought to Toronto a renewed spirit of optimism.

Winding his way through a political tour of Ontario in 1924, Mackenzie King once lamented, ''all the mayors of towns and cities seem Tory.''[82] To no one's surprise, the former mayor of Tory Toronto was himself a Tory. But for a politician who had set his sights on the party's leadership, Stewart's Toronto connections would prove to be a definite debit. Whitney, Hearst and Ferguson had each come to the leadership from small-town Ontario. In 1936 Conservatives would salute that tradition once again by electing Earl Rowe to succeed George S. Henry. A third place finish was a humbling experience for a man used to being the front runner,

but Stewart recovered from defeat and two years later was elected as the Conservative member for Parkdale. Mitch Hepburn's co-operation in keeping Liberal candidates off the slate had doubtless given Stewart's campaign a boost. For his part, the Liberal Premier was heartened by Stewart's return to public life and looked forward to doing battle with him across the floor of the House.[83]

In 1943, George Drew's Progressive Conservatives broke the Liberal hold on the Legislature and the province, by winning thirty-eight seats to form a minority government. From the standpoint of the province's electoral history, Drew's victory marked the beginning of the modern era in Ontario politics – a period of uninterrupted Conservative power in a continuing three-party system. Across the floor from Drew sat the CCF, thirty-four members strong and the Official Opposition. The party had come within four seats of forming the government, and having polled nearly a third of the province's popular vote, had appealed to a large segment of voters calling for change after more than a decade of depression and war. The CCF responded with socialism; Drew counter-attacked with his Twenty-Two Point Program. Although Drew faced post-war society with few innovations, "the power of the appeal. . .was in the manner and confidence of the man. Firm for the British connection and resonant of old loyalties, he sounded familiar themes."[84] The British connection, old loyalties: these familiar themes were echoed by Stewart. An ardent imperialist who had been honoured as a Commander of the British Empire in 1935, he spoke often of the responsibilities of citizenship and of the value of British symbols.

Stewart became Ontario's Twenty-First Speaker on February 22, 1944. The new Legislature lasted little more than a year, however, and in 1945, with the government defeated on a vote of confidence, the province prepared to go to the polls once again. Following his re-election in Parkdale, Stewart took the Chair for a second term, but a time of stormy relations between the House and its Speaker was about to begin. Long an opponent of "saloons and disgusting beer parlours," Stewart once threatened to resign during a row with the Liquor Control Board over the granting of beer licences. After incidents like this, there was always a temptation to dismiss Stewart as a hothead full of bluff and bluster. His stubborn stand on the liquor question notwithstanding, it would take more than a dispute over licensing to bring about his early demise from the Chair. It

would take a personal attack on Stewart as Speaker. On March 21, 1947 opposition members sat in stunned silence as the Minister of Highways, George Doucett, challenged the Speaker over something as trivial as the availability of guest seating in the Speaker's Gallery. "Once a Speaker is held to ridicule by a cabinet minister," Stewart replied, "he could not possibly command the respect of the House."[85] With that he removed his tricorn hat, placed it on the Chair, and stepped down from the dais, never to return.

Although he lost his seat in the 1948 provincial election, Stewart was returned to the Legislature as the member for Parkdale in 1951 and 1955. In 1959 he was named Conservative whip just before his defeat at the polls that year. That was to be his last political campaign. The following year he was appointed to the Ontario Parole Board, only to resign the position a few months later after finding his duties too arduous. He continued as chairman of the Toronto Historical Board until his death on September 28, 1969.

JAMES de CONGALTON HEPBURN
1947–1948

James de Congalton Hepburn was born in Picton, Ontario on April 23, 1878, the son of a shipping magnate who came to Prince Edward County from Montreal around the time of Confederation. From the earliest days of steam, the Prince Edward shipyards had built some of the finest boats on the lakes. A.W. Hepburn acquired the Bay of Quinte and St. Lawrence Steamboat Company from his father-in-law, James Simeon McCuaig, and over the years built it into the largest fleet on the Great Lakes. After attending Trinity College School in Port Hope, young Hepburn joined the family business and Hepburn boats plied the waters beyond Prince Edward until just before the First World War, when the fleet was sold to Canada Steamship Lines. In later years, James Hepburn would continue to operate the Bay of Quinte Transportation Company as a family concern.

Hepburn was fifty-nine years old when he embarked on a career in provincial politics. For the most part, he had always been a private person. With the exception of three years as reeve of Picton just before the war, he had devoted himself almost entirely to his family and business interests. In 1937, Mitch Hepburn received a second massive mandate from the province. The same year, James Hepburn – no relation to the Liberal Premier either through kinship or partisanship – was elected to the Legislature as the Conservative member for the riding of Prince Edward-Lennox.

After two years with Earl Rowe at the helm, the Conservative party would choose another captain to steer it through the troubled waters of opposition. At the party's convention in 1938, George Drew, "the most Tory of Tories," won a first ballot victory by promising to do everything in his power to unite the party for the purpose of defeating the Liberals. It was a promise the new Conservative leader kept. In 1943, the two Hepburns were still sitting on opposite sides of the House, but following the election that put Drew in the Premier's chair in a minority situation, it was James Hepburn who was now sitting on the government benches. Two years later, having consolidated his support in the riding, he was returned to the Legislature for a third term.

William Stewart's sudden resignation from the speakership in 1947 stunned the House. Drew moved swiftly to fill the Chair. By nominating James Hepburn as the new Speaker, Drew chose a man who symbolized the antithesis of Stewart: Stewart represented the big city; Hepburn stood for small-town values. Whereas Stewart was often brash and boisterous, Hepburn tended to be more circumspect. It was more than chance that took Hepburn to the Chair, however. Stewart's frequent sermons on the "demon rum" irritated the Conservative caucus. Of course, by now Drew had become so defiant over his government's "wet" policy that he would later stand for re-election in High Park, one of the "dryest" ridings in Toronto. Government members sat mute as Stewart left the Chair for the last time, but the message was as clear as if it had been spoken. Curiously, it was Liberal leader Farquhar Oliver who rose to the Speaker's defence by refusing to accept his resignation.[86] The Clerk of the House ruled the Liberal motion out of order and Hepburn's election was delayed – first as the House voted on the Clerk's ruling and then as the Liberals introduced another motion, this one proposing that Stewart resume the Chair.[87] For a time it looked as if the Ontario Legislature was about to divide on the choice of a Speaker for the first time in its history. Stewart, however, declined the nomination and expressed confidence that the House had found a presiding officer worthy of the respect due Mr. Speaker.

Although he was eventually elected by a unanimous vote of the House, the circumstances surrounding Hepburn's election as the Legislature's twenty-second Speaker had not been invested with the dignity customary on such occasions. Events preceding his sojourn in the Chair suggested that the House had offered something less than unanimous support for the government's course. Hepburn was a transition Speaker who came to the office at a particularly difficult time. As it turned out, he would have little opportunity to leave his mark on the office before the Legislature dissolved for the 1948 election. Like so many of his predecessors in the Chair, he lost his seat in the campaign that followed his term as Speaker. Now seventy years old, and having represented Prince Edward-Lennox at Queen's Park for eleven years, he returned to his home in Picton, where he died on Christmas Eve in 1955.

MYROYN "COOKE" DAVIES
1949–1955

Myroyn "Cooke" Davies was born to an Anglican clergyman and his wife in the Welsh town of Aberavon on May 26, 1897. Although he would spend only the early part of his life there, in his heart, Davies would always be a Welshman – independent and fiercely proud of his heritage. Educated first in Wales and the United States, Davies came to Canada during the war years, anxious to enlist for military service. When he was turned down by the Canadian forces he moved south of the border, where he served for ten months as a quartermaster sergeant. With peace restored to Europe, he returned to Canada to study theology at Huron College in London, Ontario. He graduated in 1921 and following his ordination was appointed curate of St. James Church in Stratford.

Rising from modest beginnings as rector of St. George's Anglican Church in Walkerville to his appointment as Archdeacon of Essex, Davies stood as a strong figure in the spiritual life of his community for half a century. He arrived at St. George's in 1922, a young minister in search of a congregation. Then a mission parish with only a few active families, the story of St. George's would revolve around its rector and the remarkable achievements of his ministry.

It was not until 1945, after more than twenty years in the clergy, that the preacher became the politician. A springtime alliance that year between Edward B. Jolliffe and Mitch Hepburn marshalled CCF and Liberal forces in the House to bring down the minority government of George Drew. For his part, Drew welcomed the chance to do battle with the socialists on his own terrain. Although the CCF had made impressive gains in both federal and provincial elections early in the decade, in Ontario the party would go into the 1945 campaign with no support on the farms and its labour base weakened. In places like Windsor, however, where the party had received the imprimatur of the Canadian Labour Congress, it looked like a CCF victory was close at hand.[88]

As the campaign got underway in Windsor-Walkerville, however, events did not unfold as planned. A vigorous competition between the CCF and Liberal candidates, both vying for labour support,

paved the way for Davies' election as the riding's new Progressive Conservative member in the Legislature. An army chaplain just returned from service overseas, Davies had won a considerable following through his late evening radio program, "The Quiet Sanctuary." Appealing because of its inspirational nature, the religious philosophy it featured was nonetheless "sufficiently bland to be interdenominational."[89]

Davies was honoured with the speakership following his re-election in 1948. He presided over the business of the House from 1949 to 1955, the first Speaker since Charles Clarke to occupy the Chair through the lives of two successive Legislatures. He came to the speakership praying that divine inspiration would allow him to "rule with justice, to determine with kindness, and to understand with charity." By all accounts, Davies was among the most popular of Speakers ever to preside over the Ontario Legislature. He brought to the office a common touch that seemed to bring to life the centuries of tradition surrounding the speakership.

Ensconced in the Chair above the political fray, Davies watched from a distance the changes taking place in Tory ranks during his years as Speaker. In 1948, George Drew had departed provincial politics for the federal leadership, leaving Thomas Kennedy, farmer and minister of agriculture, Ontario's new Premier for a short time. A year later, Leslie Miscampbell Frost replaced Kennedy. In 1951, there was another general election and Ontario remained true-blue Tory; Davies claimed his third victory in Windsor-Walkerville.

Davies stepped down from the Chair at the close of the Twenty-Fourth Legislature, returning to the government backbenches for the last time in 1955. He retired from political life in 1959 to resume his work at St. George's. A long-time proponent of rehabilitation, he was appointed shortly afterwards to a government advisory body on the treatment of criminals. Later that year he was named Archdeacon of Essex. Davies retired as rector of St. George's Church in 1963, but retained his title as rector emeritus until his death on December 30, 1970.

ALFRED WALLACE DOWNER
1955–1959

Alfred Wallace Downer was born on May 1, 1904, in the tiny Simcoe County crossroads called Lefaive's Corners. People who knew of his love for the land might have thought he would settle into a farmer's life some day; others who had seen the profound influence of religion in his early years knew that he would grow up to reap a different kind of harvest, tending souls instead. Raised by a devout Anglican mother and inspired as a child by the teachings of the Church, Downer studied theology in Toronto at Wycliffe College. He was ordained following his graduation in 1929, appointed curate at Erin and Cataract, and later rector of the Church of the Epiphany in rural Scarborough. In 1935, he moved to Duntroon and has served as vicar of the parish of Batteau and Duntroon since that time.

For as long as anyone could remember, Downer had been fascinated with politics. In 1929, a newly ordained minister just finished divinity school, he captured the provincial Conservative nomination in Wellington Northeast. It would take more than missionary zeal to convert this riding to Conservatism, however; Downer fought a spirited campaign but lost in the end to George A. McQuibban, the Liberal incumbent.

The politician's calling would beckon him again. In the meantime, Downer devoted himself to his parish and his party, while always looking ahead to the next election. In 1937, he carried the Conservative banner in Dufferin-Simcoe and from there took it to the Legislature as one of twenty-three Tories sitting in opposition during Mitch Hepburn's second administration. He would later have fond recollections of those years as a time when a Conservative backbencher could make headlines by criticizing the government!

With war raging in Europe, Downer left his constituency to serve as padre to the Queen's York Rangers stationed in North Africa and Italy. In his absence, his wife, Phyllis, held Dufferin-Simcoe for the Tories in 1943, when George Drew managed to piece an opposition party into a minority government. Now, with thirty-four socialists and fifteen Liberals holding the balance of power at Queen's

Park, a political battle heated up. It was a battle that commanded to attention all of Drew's political troops. Downer's presence was required by Drew to buttress his minority situation. A combat soldier first, Downer preferred to fight the enemy overseas rather than political foes at home. But it was a stern and persistent Colonel Drew who finally prevailed over Captain Downer to re-join the Tory ranks. Once again, Downer and Dufferin-Simcoe were united – an allegiance that would hold for nearly four decades. There is little doubt that a large part of his appeal was personal. With tongue in cheek, friends liked to attribute his political longevity to the fact that he had either married or christened so many of his constituents. However, Downer's connection with the Conservatives at a time of political renaissance for the party in Ontario was surely a significant factor in cementing his support in the riding.

That the Progressive Conservative party has been in power in Ontario since 1943 must be seen as a reflection of the ability of its leaders to capture the mood of the times. Among his party's leaders, Downer was probably closest to Leslie Frost, another old-time Tory who came to the Legislature in 1937 as a member of the opposition. ''The good old province of Ontario'', as Frost liked to call it, would reach heights as yet unimagined during his twelve years in office – years of unparalleled prosperity floated on a sea of billions of dollars in American investment. For the Premier who looked at things from the barber's chair in Lindsay, prosperity was an eager handmaiden to successful politicking. His electoral hold on the province was as firm as the unrelenting grip of his handshake – a grip not even the highway scandal of 1955 could break.

When the Twenty-Fifth Legislature opened on September 8, 1955, the Progressive Conservative party formed a majority government with Eighty-Four of the province's ninety-eight seats. It had been known since the close of the last Legislature that a new Speaker would be chosen. Reverend Davies had been a most worthy occupant of the Chair; however, unlike the British House of Commons, where it is customary for the Speaker to hold office until he chooses to retire from political life, the Ontario Legislature had no precedent for electing a presiding officer to a third term. Neither the Premier nor the opposition leader, it seemed, was prepared to countenance a move toward the British model by returning Davies to the Chair. In Davies' place, the House chose as Speaker another clergyman

by the name of Alfred Wallace Downer. In addition to the considerable committee experience he brought with him to the speakership, Downer had presided over the Committee of the Whole House during the previous Legislature. Once fond of quoting Tennyson in debate, he now had to confine himself to the less poetic aspects of procedural affairs. As he was about to find out, and as Davies no doubt already knew, that task would be made doubly difficult by a Premier who was determined to follow his own priorities in the Legislature. Nevertheless, with the same defiance he had shown George Drew in 1944, Speaker Downer did what none before him had dared to do – he called Leslie Frost to order. Unlike that day in 1944, however, it was Downer who prevailed this time, and the Premier yielded the floor.

Downer returned to the government backbenches following the 1959 election and shortly afterwards was named a commissioner with the Liquor Control Board, an appointment which marked the beginning of his vocal crusade against alcoholism. In 1961 he sought the Conservative leadership, but the legacy passed to a new generation with John Robarts. Once described as a ''bluff, hearty and shrewd politician of unswerving faith, a politician of the common touch school,''[90] Downer now found himself among the party's Old Guard. He clung to the political idols he had always worshipped: William Gladstone, David Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and Howard Ferguson. And he held firm to the political views he had always promulgated. During the next decade the distance would widen between Downer and the progressive element that allowed the party to claim success election after election and in 1975 he lost the Progressive Conservative nomination in Dufferin-Simcoe.

The longest-sitting member in the history of the Ontario Legislature, Downer ended his political career: ''When you're in politics,'' he reflected, ''there are all sorts of people. For some, like me, there's no other way out. Get defeated or die. I'll tell you, the alternatives aren't great.''[91]

WILLIAM MURDOCH
1960–1963

Ontario's twenty-fifth Speaker, William Murdoch was born in Leeds, England on June 15, 1904. With little more than a Scottish canniness to see him through, he was nineteen when he came to the Canadian prairies on a harvest excursion. Murdoch had always intended to return to his home in England, but once here he saw a country full of opportunities, a country where rewards could come to those who worked hard. He moved east after the harvest and settled in the village of Harrow, southeast of Windsor. Here the light soil of South Essex favoured tobacco farming and Murdoch worked the fields as a sharecropper until he eventually acquired his own poultry farm. Harrow was a close-knit community with a rural outlook and William Murdoch personified its values. After its incorporation as a village in 1930, he became active in local politics, sitting on the school board and then on the town council during the depression years. As president of the Harrow Public Speaking Club, master of the Masonic Lodge, and even as organist for the Harrow Anglican Church, Murdoch set out to build his profile in the community. "Those kind of activities don't do you any harm," he once told a reporter, "Not if you're planning a career in politics."[92]

Having laid this important groundwork, he could begin to contemplate running for provincial office. In 1943, the Tories approached him with the nomination in Essex South. Some years later, Murdoch would recount this story with a mixture of irony and amusement, recalling how he had been rather smitten with socialism at the time. He went into that campaign fighting like a Tory, however. Essex South had not voted Conservative since it returned Austin Burton Smith to the Legislature in 1929. Battling the formidable forces of history may have strengthened Murdoch's resolve, for he fought off both CCF and Liberal to take the riding with just over forty percent of the vote.

As the newly appointed Tory whip in a Legislature controlled by a minority Conservative government, Murdoch savoured the challenge with the relish of a veteran politician. During the next several years, he served at one time or another on nearly every Standing

Committee of the Legislature and on Select Committees considering such matters as labour legislation, air pollution, and lake levels. In debate, he was a friend of the farmer and with his homilies on agriculture, would often catch the attention of a House increasingly dominated by talk of highways and hospitals.

By 1959, Murdoch had become a powerhouse in the Conservative caucus, but, after fifteen years as party whip, he was restless and ready to move on to another challenge. He told the Premier that he would consider resigning his seat unless a promotion was forthcoming. In his inimitable style, Frost persuaded him to stay with the promise that he would be made Deputy Speaker. With an election call imminent, Murdoch held his new position for only a few months before the Legislature was dissolved for a spring campaign. Although Ontario voters were treated to a heavy dose of Liberal indignation over yet another scandal – this time involving three cabinet ministers in an alleged improper purchase of Northern Ontario Natural Gas stock – the province reaffirmed its faith in Frost's administration by giving the Premier another commanding majority: ''In 'the good old province of Ontario', the ballot boxes pronounced for common sense, for a tough, prosaic, essentially honest government that managed the province well.''[93]

A new Legislature opened on January 26, 1960 with William Murdoch as its Speaker. His long years of parliamentary experience had equipped him well for the task of presiding over legislative debate. As it turned out, he would need all the resources he could muster. Almost immediately, he found himself in a wrangle with opposition members over the interpretation of procedural points and several times his decisions were challenged from the floor. Unfortunately, although the sessions over which he presided were crammed with a legislative agenda of economic development, industrial research, agricultural expansion, and financial assistance for schools and universities, they were largely ignored by the people of the province, whose attention was fixed on a sordid saga unfolding in testimony before the Royal Commission on Crime.

When the pre-election session of 1963 finally ended, the House had sat for sixty-six days and eighteen nights, debated 225 pieces of legislation, and added three million words to Hansard.[94] Among the bills before the Legislature in that period was a proposed amend-

ment to the Representation Act, – introduced by NDP leader Donald MacDonald, to provide for the creation of an electoral constituency of Queen's Park, consisting of the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. Its object was to create a permanent speakership independent of partisan influence.

It was an ironic twist of political fate that ended Murdoch's legislative career so soon after a debate that might have made him the Legislature's permanent presiding officer. Following his defeat in the 1963 election, he went back to municipal politics and in 1969 was elected to the Amherstburg town council. He took a brief respite from council activities in 1971, returning three years later for a final term. Years after his return to private life he would sit back and reflect on the past: "It's a great business, politics. Most interesting, you know."[95] He died on April 28, 1984.

DONALD HUGO MORROW
1963–1967

Donald Hugo Morrow was born on December 19, 1908 in Winchester Springs, Ontario, just a few miles from Crysler's Farm – the historic battle site where the British mauled American forces in 1813. Morrow's Presbyterian upbringing nurtured in him the values he would carry through life. After attending local public schools, he went on to Queen's University to prepare for a teaching career. He passed the time between studies playing softball with a strapping chap named Donald MacDonald. The right-fielder on the Queen's team, MacDonald would one day sit on Morrow's ideological left in the Ontario Legislature as leader of the CCF-NDP.

Morrow came to the Legislature in 1948, a retired flight lieutenant who had served with the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War Two. He had always felt comfortable in the Conservative party and liked to call himself a Tory by inheritance. For generations, Winchester Springs had been the centre of political activity in Dundas County. Morrow's childhood had been filled with his father's reminiscences of campaigning for John A. Macdonald, and as a young man, he had enjoyed attending meetings where the topic was politics and the talk was Tory. Now, after years spent watching the political arena from the sidelines, Morrow was thrust into the thick of it. The 1948 election was called on the non-issue of Hydro, but proclamation of Premier Drew's revised licensing act turned the campaign into another battleground for temperance forces in the province. As Morrow claimed his first victory in Carleton, Drew suffered a personal defeat in High Park. Although the two men would be fighting different political battles once Drew assumed the party's national leadership at Ottawa, in the future they would combine forces once again against the party's common foes; Morrow would continue to campaign in Ottawa on Drew's behalf.

In 1955, after representing Carleton in the Legislature for seven years, Morrow stood for election in the adjacent riding of Ottawa West, where his support proved to be as broad as his Valley accent. His personal appeal was an important factor in his electoral success. While federal Tories in the riding won and lost their seats, Morrow called in his markers to win each of the next five provincial elec-

tions. The voters of Ottawa West might play partisan roulette with the political careers of their representatives in the House of Commons, but they always played a pat hand with Donald Morrow.

As a government backbencher in the Legislature, Morrow took a keen interest in committee work with the hope of raising his profile and realizing his cabinet ambitions. To his dismay, however, there always seemed to be another Conservative member from eastern Ontario standing between him and a cabinet appointment. In 1958, for a fleeting moment, his long-awaited promotion seemed close at hand, only to slip through his fingers and into the lap of James Maloney, the Conservative member for Renfrew South elected only two years earlier. Premier Frost, Morrow later maintained, had apparently taken Maloney into the cabinet at the insistence of the Bishop of Pembroke, who wanted the post to go to an Irish Catholic from eastern Ontario.[96]

Although he was neither Irish nor Catholic, Morrow's exclusion from the cabinet suggested something about his political style. A renegade who had acquired a reputation for bucking the party establishment, Morrow probably fought as many battles in the caucus as he did in the House during his years in the provincial Legislature. In fact, according to a veteran observer of the political scene at Queen's Park, Donald Morrow was the fellow opposition members approached if they wanted to bring pressure to bear on the government. Although deeply committed to conservatism, he was also a straight-talking politician who had little time for sentimentality: ''The Tories know,'' he once declared, ''that if they ever tried to dump Don Morrow in favour of somebody else that he is the kind of guy who would go out and work against his successor.''[97]

In 1963, John Robarts, the lawyer from London, Ontario who two years earlier had succeeded Leslie Frost as party leader and Premier, prepared to face the first electoral test of his administration. The Conservatives ran a low-key campaign, focusing on the government's record in the previous Legislature and marketing their message under the slogan, ''Good government deserves your support.''[98] The Liberal party continued outside the House its charges concerning the prevalence of organized crime in the province, although the report tabled in March by Royal Commissioner Wilfrid D. Roach concluded that there had been no corruption, links with

gamblers, or suppression of police action against gambling in the Ministry of the Attorney General. Determined to shed the more radical image assocated with the old CCF, the New Democratic Party went into its first provincial campaign with an eleven-point program containing proposals for economic planning and an automobile insurance scheme. When the new Legislature opened on October 29, its composition had hardly changed. Sixty-two percent of the eligible voters in Ontario had elected seventy-seven Conservatives, twenty-four Liberals and seven NDP members as their representatives at Queen's Park.

In Canadian legislatures it has not been uncommon for the speakership to be used to placate a long-sitting member who has been passed over for the cabinet. When Premier Robarts offered the Chair to Donald Morrow at the start of the Twenty-Seventh Legislature in 1963, the member for Ottawa West finally realized that this was as close as he would come to a portfolio. There was much to suggest that Morrow would be a fine Speaker indeed: his grasp of procedure was firm, his personality outgoing, and his physical presence commanding. And yet, he is said to have been so angered by the Premier's offer that he kept Robarts waiting for days before he finally accepted the nomination. Once in the Chair, however, Morrow tackled his duties as presiding officer with enthusiasm, evincing a genuine interest in the affairs of the Legislature.

Morrow stepped down from the Chair with the dissolution of that Legislature and returned to the backbenches following the 1967 election. By 1971, he had begun to tire of politics and was contemplating retirement but was dissuaded by Premier William Davis. Four years later, he was appointed chairman of the Select Committee charged with reviewing and advising the Legislature on recommendations contained in the Fourth and Fifth Reports of the Ontario Commission on the Legislature. He fought his last campaign in 1975, leaving the provincial arena two years later. In 1978, Morrow was named to the Social Assistance Review Board, a position he continues to hold.

FREDERICK McINTOSH CASS
1968–1971

Frederick McIntosh Cass was born in Chesterville, Ontario on August 5, 1913. The son of William J. Cass, a prominent small-town lawyer from eastern Ontario, Cass would follow in his father's path, attending Victoria College and studying law at Osgoode Hall. He was called to the Ontario bar in 1936 and after articling with the Toronto firm of Rogers and Rowland, he later joined his father's practice in Winchester. During World War Two, he served with the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders and was stationed at various times with Canadian Military Headquarters in London, Italy and Belgium. In 1945, he joined the newly formed Canadian Pacific Force, although having attained the rank of major, he retired shortly thereafter.

In 1950, Cass was appointed deputy magistrate of the Counties of Grenville and Dundas, a post he held for five years. It was around this time that he married Charlotte Olive Casselman, the daughter of William H. Casselman, a United Farmers of Ontario supporter who had won the old provincial constituency of Dundas for the Farmers in 1919. Dundas and Grenville had given the province two premiers in James Whitney and Howard Ferguson. In 1955, Cass sought the Conservative nomination in the riding of Grenville-Dundas which had been created out of the two counties. The swiftness of his political rise was, by any standard, remarkable.

Just three years after he had first entered the Legislature, Cass suddenly found himself in the spotlight as the new Minister of Highways. Having come to the cabinet in the wake of a scandal that forced the resignation of three of Frost's ministers, he was the right man at the right time – someone who could keep a firm hand on the department and pave the way for the great highway building boom to come. In 1961, Cass was moved to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs to make way in the Highways portfolio for William Goodfellow. Before, long, he had ordered an intensive auditing campaign of municipal books and issued a stern directive to every mayor and reeve in the province that members of council disclose any interests they might have in matters before these bodies. Soon, however, his political star would fall as dramatically as it had risen.

Although Cass had thrown his support behind provincial Treasurer James Allan in his bid that year for the party leadership, in 1962, the new Premier, John Robarts, appointed Cass Attorney General. Succeeding Kelso Roberts in that post, he inherited a multitude of unresolved and controversial matters, including the pending report of the Roach Commission on organized crime and the investigation of the Northern Ontario Natural Gas Stock scandal. Once dubbed "the fireman" for his ability to quench the flames of opposition outrage, Cass himself now came under fire for his handling of the Provincial Police Commission, the Ontario Securities Commission and the Coroner's Office. The worst was yet to come, however.

On March 19, 1964, Cass introduced in the Legislature the now infamous Ontario Police Act. Intended as a frontal assault on organized crime, his proposed amendments to the existing legislation gave the Police Commission – an administrative tribunal – extraordinary powers of interrogation which even the highest courts in the land possessed subject to stringent safeguards of due process. His so-called police state legislation[99] provoked a public outcry so loud that it rocked the foundations of the Robarts government. By Cass' own admission, the legislation posed a potential threat to individual rights.[100] After first supporting the amendments and then announcing that the offending sections would be removed, the Premier initially refused to withdraw the bill. On March 23, however, the bill was withdrawn for further study and Cass resigned his portfolio.

He languished on the backbenches for four years before his election as Speaker in 1968. Some saw his appointment to the speakership as a symbolic salve applied to an old political wound. Many backbenchers felt that the position rightfully belonged to Leonard Reilly, the Progressive Conservative member for the Toronto riding of Eglinton, who had served as Deputy Speaker during the preceding two Legislatures. With his government's majority cut after the 1967 election, however, Premier Robarts might have felt that it was important to have someone in the Chair who would rule the House with a firm hand – someone like Frederick Cass.

Fifty-four years old when he took the Chair on February 14, 1968, Cass possessed what had once been described as a "rakish manner reminiscent of Franklin D. Roosevelt."[101] As Speaker he displayed the flair for capturing attention that he had exhibited throughout

his political career. During his term in office, the daily Question Period came to resemble an exercise in oral acrobatics as opposition members performed verbal contortions because of his ruling that restrained them from beginning their questions to ministers with the word ''why''!

In 1971, Cass followed John Robarts into retirement, maintaining that it was ''time for a change all the way down the line.'' With that, he returned to Winchester, private life and his law practice.

ALLAN EDWARD REUTER
1971–1974

Allan Edward Reuter was born in Preston, Ontario on August 9, 1914. Like many of his contemporaries, he was forced at an early age to make his way in the world. Although he left school after Grade Nine to support his large family, he emerged from the bleak depression years with a determination to resume his education and, through correspondence courses, he became a public accountant. Reuter was forty-five when latent political urges were finally aroused in him. Elected in 1959 as an alderman for the town of Preston, he won the mayoralty just two years later.

His was the familiar story of the local politician who made the transition to the provincial arena with ease. In 1963, Reuter captured the Progressive Conservative nomination in Waterloo South and went on to take the riding in the election that followed. Keith Butler, Reuter's Conservative running mate in neighbouring Waterloo North, had managed to unseat Liberal leader John Wintermeyer in what was probably the most significant event of the Ontario campaign.

Reuter's own victory may have been overshadowed by the political turn in Waterloo North, but once he took his seat in the Legislature, he would hold the attention of the House long after Butler had been forgotten. Although his quiet ways contrasted to the more flamboyant style of some of his colleagues on the backbenches, Reuter quickly proved his abilities as the new chairman of the Public Bills Committee. It was in this forum that Premier John Robarts first took note of him. In 1968, Robarts appointed him chairman of the Committee of the Whole House, a position he held throughout the often stormy speakership of Frederick Cass.

Three years later, Robarts stepped aside for a new generation that would take the party and the province into the Seventies and beyond. On February 12, 1971, William Davis was elected leader of Ontario's Progressive Conservative Party with a mere forty-four votes over Allan Lawrence on the fifth ballot. Following a massive cabinet reorganization, Davis met the House on March 1st. A throne speech, budget and election call came in rapid succession. When it was over, the fabled Big Blue Machine of William Davis had levelled

the opposition parties, taking seventy-eight of the province's 117 seats – nine more than Robarts had won in 1967.

The Twenty-Ninth Legislature opened on December 13, 1971 with Allan Edward Reuter as Speaker. As chairman of the Committee of the Whole House in the previous Legislature, Reuter had shown himself to be both firm and fair-minded. Moreover, he had come to understand the mood of the House, and could sense the situations that called for a touch of humour and the circumstances that demanded a heavy hand. The sessions of the Twenty-Ninth Legislature would surely test Reuter's stamina. On June 23, 1972, he ordered the ejection of two opposition members within the space of twenty minutes. It was an unprecedented response. No Speaker before him had ever taken such drastic action to restore order to the House. But Reuter was fast becoming a Speaker noted for his tough stands against members who pushed his good nature too far. On December 14, 1973, he set another precedent when, in the midst of a heated debate over a teachers' dispute, he adjourned the House for half an hour so that tempers could cool.

During Reuter's term as Speaker, the government appointed the Ontario Commission on the Legislature, headed by Dalton Camp. The Commission's terms of reference were "to study the function of the Legislative Assembly. . .with particular reference to the role of the Private Members and how their participation in the process of government may be enlarged."[102] The commissioners brought to their task a more general concern, however, for "the decline of the Legislature as an institution of unchallenged strength and independence"[103] – a concern shared increasingly by legislators as well as political scientists. Although the executive branch had developed to cope with the dramatic growth in the scope and complexity of government, as one prominent legislator has argued, until very recently "the operations and procedures of the legislative branch continued much as they were in the years following Confederation."[104] Significantly, the Camp Commission pointed to the erosion of the Speaker's powers as a major factor in the decline of the Legislature, concluding in its second report that "the Office of the Speaker, and consequently the administration of the Legislature itself, has not grown and developed along lines consistent with modern parliamentary democracy."[105]

After several months of study, the government responded to the Commission's report on June 25, 1974 in an announcement that it welcomed the recommendations tabled with respect to the office of the Speaker. Reuter, however, would not stay in the Chair long enough to see the changes implemented. In December 1973, he had collapsed while presiding over a period of late night sittings during which the mood of the House had been particularly fowl. Since his return to the Legislature in the Spring he had left the more onerous aspects of his job to Deputy Speaker Russell Rowe. On October 22, 1974, Reuter finally resigned the speakership and Rowe took his place in the Chair.

Reuter returned to his seat on the backbenches, fulfilling a promise to his constituents that he would continue to represent them until the end of his term. He returned to private life in 1975 and, after a lengthy illness, died December 31, 1982, at the age of sixty-eight.

RUSSELL DANIEL ROWE
1974–1977

Born in Campbellford, Ontario on December 1, 1914, and educated at local schools, Russell Daniel Rowe studied English and Mathematics at Queen's University prior to World War Two. Over the years, there would be many stops along the course he had charted for himself. As an RCAF flying officer, educator and stockbroker, his experiences would later afford him an equally diverse perspective in his political work. In 1963, Rowe entered the Ontario Legislature as the newly elected Progressive Conservative member for Northumberland. A Tory bastion since William Goodfellow wrested the riding from the Liberals in 1943, Northumberland would remain a Conservative stronghold, although its loyalties to Rowe were probably as much personal as they were partisan.

During his years as a backbencher in the Robarts government, Rowe was active on Select Committees on youth, consumer credit and company law. But it was as chairman of the Select Committee on Economic and Cultural Nationalism, appointed in 1971 by the new Premier, William Davis, that he distinguished himself as a straight-shooter who openly criticized the Committee's recommendations on foreign ownership as ''too selfish and nationalistic.''

Unfortunate circumstances brought Rowe to the Chair in 1974 when failing health forced Allan Reuter to relinquish the speakership. He had served the House as Deputy Speaker since 1971 and had presided over the early morning and late night sittings in the months preceding Reuter's resignation. Now, having assumed the full burden of the presiding officer's duties, he would be the first Speaker affected by implementation of the recommendations contained in the Camp Commission's second report. These changes saw the Speaker elevated to cabinet rank and accorded a place in the order of precedence following the Lieutenant Governor, the First Minister, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario. In December 1974, the Office of the Assembly was established as the legal entity responsible for the administration of the Legislature, replacing the Ministry of Government Services which had previously determined how the Legislature's physical and monetary requirements were to be met. Now, in addition to his duties as Chief Presiding Officer,

the Speaker, as First Administrative Officer of the Legislature, was given ultimate responsibility for the administration of the Office of the Assembly and his staff was expanded accordingly.

Rowe's first term in the Chair lasted less than a year. In July 1975, the House broke for a summer recess and in August the Legislature was dissolved for a Fall election. On September 18, 1975, three decades of majority Conservative rule ended abruptly when the province returned the Davis government with just fifty-one of the Legislature's 125 seats – twenty-seven fewer than the party had had at dissolution and twenty-three fewer than the combined forces of the Liberals and NDP. Although the Liberals had polled a higher percentage of the popular vote, it was the NDP, with thirty-eight seats, that would sit opposite the government as the Official Opposition when the Thirtieth Legislature opened on October 28.

A major cabinet reorganization followed as Davis brought in eight new members and shifted seven others to different portfolios. Rowe, however, was nominated to a second term as Speaker. Although he was liked and respected by his colleagues in the House, Rowe's return to the Chair was greeted with apprehension by some government backbenchers who felt he was not aggressive enough to control a Legislature that had been described by his predecessor as the rowdiest in the country. While all three parties came to the Thirtieth Legislature with a determination to make minority government work, soon debate became unruly, the daily question period dragged on as ministers rambled through obfuscations that were passed off as answers, and the general business of the House often slowed to a standstill as yet another ruling was challenged from the floor.

When the Thirty-First Legislature opened on June 27, 1977, the government faced another minority situation, this time with the Liberal party sitting as the Official Opposition. For Rowe, who was elected to a third term as Speaker, the prospect of presiding over a House full of partisan bitterness must have been distressing. He stepped down from the Chair mid-way through the first session, indicating his desire to return to a more active role in his party's caucus. He resumed his seat as the member for Northumberland, but later announced that he would not seek re-election in 1981. In 1983, he was named a member of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario.

JOHN EDWARD "JACK" STOKES
1977–1981

John Edward "Jack" Stokes was born on February 17, 1923 in the township of Schreiber, a railway community situated on the north shore of Lake Superior. The North and the railway would each have a profound influence in shaping Stokes' political perspective. A conductor for Canadian Pacific, in 1955 he went on to become chairman of the Local Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, a position he held for twelve years. Although he had been a municipal hydro commissioner in the early Sixties, it was not until several years later that his union activities brought him to the attention of the New Democratic Party.

Stokes came to the Legislature in 1967 as the NDP member for the newly created riding of Thunder Bay. He represented the riding until 1975, when the constituency of Lake Nipigon was established through redistribution. The largest riding in the province, Lake Nipigon reaches up from the north shore of Lake Superior to the tip of Hudson Bay – over one hundred thousand square miles of rugged, glacier-scarred wilderness dotted with isolated lumber, mining and railway communities and pockets of native settlements far removed from the centre of the province's political life at Queen's Park.

Ontario's North has a distinct political culture – an orientation born of topography and climate and the overwhelming feeling of alienation that comes from belonging to a hinterland. In Lake Nipigon, as in many other ridings that lie north of the Mattawa-Lake Nipissing-French River line, the politics of northern alienation has left the ruling Conservative party out in the cold. Stokes has always maintained, however, that Lake Nipigon votes for the man, not for the party. When Lake Nipigon has voted for Stokes, it has voted overwhelmingly for him. In each of his last two elections he received over sixty-seven percent of the vote.

Since the Office of the Legislative Assembly was established in 1974, the speakership has become a symbol of the independence of the Legislature from the government. Yet, a fundamental question remains: To what extent is it possible for the Speaker to main-

tain his independence from the government as long as the government makes the appointment, when the appointee is traditionally a member of the governing party, and when political realities often conspire to make the speakership just one consideration in the complex of decisions involved in cabinet-building? On October 17, 1977, Jack Stokes became the first member of an opposition party to preside as Speaker since Nelson Parliament took the Chair in 1920.

Had the Davis government not faced a minority situation in the House, observers might have concluded that the government had summoned the political will to distance the Speaker from the ruling party. With his supporters in the Legislature outnumbered by opposition members, however, Premier Davis managed both to silence a vocal critic of his government's policies on the North and reduce the opposition parties' voting strength in the House. The fact that Stokes had served previously as Deputy Speaker and had demonstrated a capacity for keeping a tight rein on debate was equally important, given the circumstances.

In the Chair, Stokes sat leaning to one side, legs crossed, his white hair contrasting the sombre black of his robes. It was a familiar image during his four years as Speaker. But it was his resonant voice, commanding the House to order, that became the symbol of his speakership. As Speaker, Stokes laid down the law of the House with a firm, often unyielding hand. In his determination to be seen by all parties as an impartial presiding officer, he faced a dilemma. Former NDP leader Donald MacDonald, the member for York South, explained the difficulties Stokes encountered in the Chair: ''The Speaker has attempted to impose upon opposition members restrictions to eliminate excessive argumentation when asking questions; but he has found it virtually impossible to impose comparable limitations on the Premier and ministers in their responses.''[106] As MacDonald argues, it is difficult for a Speaker to discipline those who are, after all, responsible for his appointment. Again, what was at issue was the Speaker's independence from the government. The fact that the issue arose with a Speaker who was a member of an opposition party suggested that the problem lay, not in the partisan affiliation of a Speaker, but in the method of his selection.

The 1981 election returned a majority Progressive Conservative government. Five days before the opening of the Thirty-Second

Legislature, Premier Davis informed Jack Stokes that a new Speaker would be chosen from the government benches. With six long years of minority government in Ontario having just ended, the Premier reverted to the traditional practice of choosing a Speaker from the party in power. With that announcement, Stokes returned to the floor as the NDP critic for northern affairs. He later announced his intention to retire before the next provincial election.

JOHN MELVILLE TURNER
1981–

The thirty-first Speaker to preside over the Legislative Assembly, John Melville Turner was born in Peterborough, Ontario on September 24, 1922. After attending school in Peterborough and in nearby Lakefield, he enlisted with the Royal Canadian Air Force. As a rear-gunner during the Second World War, he completed a tour of operations over Europe.

Following his return home, Turner was appointed to the Advisory Vocational Committee of the Peterborough Board of Education. Later, he further indulged his interest in civic affairs while continuing to operate the plumbing and heating business established by his grandfather. In 1969, he was elected an alderman for the City of Peterborough and held that post until his resignation from City Council two years later. With his profile in the community well established, Turner began to focus his attention on provincial politics and in 1971, he won the Progressive Conservative nomination in the riding of Peterborough. In 1971, a Conservative could stand at the edge of Toronto and watch the eastern horizon unfold a Tory blue – a vast stretch of twenty-two seats party strategists regarded as ''safe''. Only two dark clouds obstructed that view – Oshawa and Peterborough, both of which were held by the New Democratic Party.

Until 1967, Peterborough had voted with the government in every election since George Drew ushered in the modern era in Ontario politics in 1943. In Canada's Centennial year, however, the riding that exuded Conservatism suddenly switched its allegiance to an NDP candidate named Walter Pitman. Four years later, Turner faced a formidable opponent in Pitman, but managed to win the riding after polling nearly forty-three percent of the votes cast. After taking his seat in the House, he served as a member on the Standing Committees on Resources Development and Members' Services, as vice-chairman of the Select Committee on the Ombudsman and as chairman of the Caucus Committee on General Government and Justice. In 1974, he was appointed parliamentary assistant to the Provincial Secretary for Justice. Turner continued

to represent Peterborough in the Legislature until 1975, when Gillian Sandeman reclaimed the riding for the New Democratic Party.

Turner's defeat in 1975 did not discourage him from seeking the party's nomination when a provincial election was called two years later. Following his return to the Legislature in 1977, he was appointed a year later parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Health. It was a task for which he was well-suited. He had become acquainted with health-care policy during his earlier involvement in municipal politics while serving on the Peterborough Board of Health, the City Health Unit and the board of directors of St. Joseph's General Hospital. In 1978, he sat as a member of the Legislature's Select Committee on Health-Care Financing and Costs.

Only fifty-seven percent of the electorate went to the polls in the general election held on March 19, 1981, but when the ballots were counted, the Conservatives had won their majority with seventy of the Legislature's 125 seats and John Turner had won re-election in Peterborough. When the Thirty-Second Legislature opened on April 21, the task of choosing a presiding officer turned out to be anything but routine. Although Premier Davis had earlier communicated his intention not to nominate Speaker Stokes for another term, his choice of John Turner took the leaders of both opposition parties by surprise. On April 3, 1980, the House had debated a resolution tabled by NDP member Donald MacDonald respecting the process for electing officers of the Legislature. With reference to the Speaker, the resolution read: ''In order to establish in practice as well as in principle the independence of the Legislature, the nomination of the Speaker should be made by the Premier only after consultation with the leaders of the opposition parties. . . .''[107] Although the resolution was adopted unanimously at that time, when it came time to choose a successor to Stokes, the opposition leaders were not consulted in the matter, nor were they informed of the decision to appoint Turner until noon on the day the Legislature was to open.

Against this background, Turner set about the difficult task of mediating the sometimes rancorous Ontario Legislature. The opposition parties, bitter over the electoral losses they had suffered, took an aggressive stance in the House. After only a few months in the Chair, Turner took the unprecedented action of ejecting Liberal leader Stuart Smith following remarks made during a heated

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debate over the Re-Mor Investment affair. That incident, coupled with a similar one where he ordered NDP Leader Michael Cassidy out of the chamber, raised questions about the new Speaker's future in the Chair.

The flames of opposition outrage finally engulfed the speakership on November 16, 1981, when the New Democratic Party initiated a motion of censure against Speaker Turner over the crucial issue of confidence. Although rare in Ontario, motions of censure against the Chair are not uncommon in other provincial legislatures. The Speaker of the Saskatchewan Legislature, John Brockelbank, faced such a motion on three separate occasions in 1980 and 1981.[108] In 1981, a motion of censure against Speaker Gerard Amerongen of Alberta was debated and rejected by a vote of 51 to 4.[109] Having faced the challenge directly, Speaker Turner emerged from the censure debate with both the government and the Official Opposition supporting him. Significantly, former Speaker Jack Stokes broke party ranks to speak against the NDP motion. Following the November 1981 motion, Turner gradually gained the confidence of the House.

On February 8, 1985, Frank Miller succeeded William Davis as Premier and John Turner became the first Speaker since Frederick Cass to serve during the tenure of two premiers. The Thirty-Second Legislature over which Turner presided was dissolved on March 25th and a general election called for May 2, 1985.

NOTES

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Thorold *Post*, 7 September 1877.

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[27] Shortt and Doughty, p. 138.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Toronto *Globe*, 8 January 1874.

[30] Toronto *Globe*, 24 November 1875.

[31] Clarke, p. 200.

[32] *The Clarke Papers*, p. 1.

[33] Clarke, p. 110.

[34] Ibid., p. 103.

[35] R.B. Nelles, *County of Haldimand in the Days of Auld Lang Syne* (Port Hope, Ontario: The Hamly Press, 1905), p. 83.

[36] Clarke, p. 292.

[37] Ibid., p. 307.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Shortt and Doughty, p. 166.

[40] Toronto *Globe*, 22 February 1895.

[41] In the absence of accurate records, it is difficult to determine the precise date.

[42] Sources suggest that Evanturel went to Ottawa in the 1870s, although they vary widely with respect to the duration of his stay.

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PORTRAIT CREDITS*

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Archibald George Barnes	The Hon. Thomas Ashmore Kidd 1930–1934
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Ashley & Crippen	The Hon. John Melville Turner 1981–
E.A. Crossman	The Hon. John Stevenson 1867–1871
Lynn Donoghue	The Hon. John Edward Stokes 1977–1981
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	The Hon. Donald Hugo Morrow 1963–1967
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	The Hon. Thomas Crawford 1907–1911
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Cleeve Horne	The Hon. Frederick McIntosh Cass 1968–1971
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Mildred Peel	The Hon. James George Currie 1871–1873
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	The Hon. Francis Eugene Alfred Evanturel 1897–1902
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